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CONTENTS.

ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	PAGE
The History and Coinage of Artaxerxes III., his Satraps and Dependants. By Sir Henry H. Howorth, K.C.I.E., F.R.S.	1
The Numerical Letters on Imperial Coins of Syria. By George Macdonald, M.A.	105
Notes on some Phocian Obols. By Neville Langton . . .	197
Classification Chronologique des Émissions Monétaires de l'Atelier de Nicomédie pendant la Période Constantiniennne. By Jules Maurice	211
Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1902. By Warwick Wroth.	217

MEDIAEVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

The Coinage of William Wood, 1722-1726. By Philip Nelson, M.D.	47
A Find of Silver Coins at Colchester. By H. A. Grueber, F.S.A.	111
The Gold Coinage of the Reign of Henry VI. By Eric Galt, F.S.A.	

George William de Saulles. Obituary Notice. By John H. Pinches

A Find of Coins of Alfred the Great at Stamford. By H. A. Grueber, F.S.A.

ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

Coinage of the East India Company. By J. M. C. Johnston

Two Coins relating to the Buwayhid and 'Okaylid Dynasties of Mesopotamia and Persia. By J. G. Covernton, M.A.

History and Coinage of Malwa (Part I.). By L. White King, F.S.A.

MISCELLANEA.

Errata in Mr. Crump and Mr. Johnson's "Notes on 'A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.' By W. F. Andrew."

Roman Coins found at Southwark

Coins found on the Premises of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters.

Ancient British Coins of Verulamium and Cunobelinus.

An Unpublished, or Unique Half-crown of Charles I.

The Mughal Mints of India

Malwa Coins of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat

A Round Copper Coin of Ghiyath Shah of Malwa (?)

Coins of the Nomes of Egypt

Some Coins of Caria and Lycia

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Medaillen des italienischen Renaissance. Von Cornelius	PAGE
von Fabriczy	190

LIST OF PLATES CONTAINED IN VOL. III.

PLATES

- I., II. Wood's Irish Coinage.
- III. Coins of the East India Company.
- IV. Short-cross Pennies (Henry II.-III.).
- V. Phocian Coins.
- VI., VII. Monnaies de Nicomédie.
- VIII., IX. Gold Coinage of Henry VI.
- X.-XII. Acquisitions of the British Museum in 1902.

I.

THE HISTORY AND COINAGE OF ARTAXERXES III., HIS SATRAPS AND DEPENDANTS.

ARTAXERXES II., King of Persia, an effeminate and feeble ruler, died in the year 358 B.C., after a long reign of forty-six years, during which the Empire decayed, and in fact was threatened with dissolution. Droysen says of him that he played the rôle of a ball in the hands of his harem and his eunuchs. *Inter alia* he had married his own daughters Amestris and Atossa.

His eldest son Darius had already at the age of twenty-five been invested with the succession, and, as Plutarch tells us, had been permitted to wear the point of his tiara erect as a mark of royalty. Darius asked as a favour from his father the hand of Aspasia, who had been the mistress of Cyrus the younger and was now one of the King's concubines. Artaxerxes gave her her choice as she selected to go with Darius but the King presently took her away from him as he made her a priestess of Anaitis, whom Plutarch calls Diana of Ecbatana. She was thus consecrated to a life of chastity. This is further in

married them himself. They accordingly formed a conspiracy against Artaxerxes. This was disclosed to him by a eunuch, who informed him that the conspirators intended to enter his chamber at night and kill him. The King, says Plutarch, had a hole made in the wall of his room, covered it with tapestry, and then watched the proceedings of the conspirators, and as they advanced sword in hand to kill him he withdrew into an inner room, the door of which he bolted. Tiribazus was seized by the guards and put to death after a terrible struggle. Darius was tried and condemned to death and was executed; some affirmed that he was decapitated by his own father, who afterwards went to the temple of Ormuzd to return thanks to his god for his escape. Ariaspes was the second and only remaining legitimate son of Artaxerxes. He was a favourite of the Persians on account of his mildness and good disposition. He presently committed suicide, being incited to do so by the supposed threats of his father, which were in reality invented by his ambitious and illegitimate brother Ochus, in Old Persian, Vahuka.

Arsames, who was his father's favourite, and like Ochus born of a concubine, was now looked upon as the successor to the throne. Ochus, who was encouraged by Tossa, with whom he had intrigued, incited Harpates, son of Tiribazus, to assassinate him. All this we learn from Greek sources, the Greeks hated, and had occasion to bitterly. According to the Greeks at length over-died, he says, sixty-two.

Ochus, who mounted the throne with the title of Artaxerxes III. He is described by the Greeks as cruel, merciless and truculent, but there is no doubt he was endowed with courage and vigour. Noeldke says of him that he was one of those despots who can raise up again for a time a decayed Oriental Empire, who shed blood without scruple, and are not nice in the choice of means, but who in the actual position of affairs usually contribute to the welfare of the State as a whole.

For the chronology of this period the safest and, so far as we know, the impeccable guide is the Astronomical Canon of the Persian Kings. According to this Canon Artaxerxes mounted the throne in the 390th year of the æra of Nabonassar, *i.e.* November 359–November 358 B.C. According to a statement of Polyænus, vii. 17, he, in conjunction with the eunuchs, the chamberlain, and the captain of the guard, disguised the late king's death for ten months, during which he wrote circular letters in his father's name and sealed them with the royal signet. In one of them he commanded all his subjects to obey himself, Ochus, as their king. This mandate was universally complied with. Thereupon Ochus publicly acknowledged his father's death and ordered a general mourning for him in the Persian fashion.

This postponement of the publication of his death accounts, according to Judeich, for the disagreement of the Royal Persian Canon, which was kept at headquarters, where the truth was probably known, with the epigraphic evidence from Asia Minor, and he suggests that if we date the death of Artaxerxes Mnemon about the 1st of May, 358, then Ochus may be supposed to have officially mounted the throne about the 1st of March, 357 (*Kleinasiatische Studien*, 230–231). The new

king began his reign by putting to death his near relations and such as might raise pretensions to the throne. If we are to credit the late writers Justin and Curtius, he buried alive his own sister Ocha, whose daughter he had married, and having placed his uncle with one hundred of his sons and grandsons in an open court, he had them shot down with arrows. This uncle, says M. Dubeux, was probably the father of Sisygambis, the mother of Darius Codomannus, for Q. Curtius tells us he put to death eighty of her brothers together with her father in one day (see Justin, x. 3, 1; Curtius, x. 5, 23). This remedy for potential turbulence, which always grates against the Western conscience, has been often justified by the experience of the East as a very rough means to a good end.

If we are to follow the statement of Polyænus above quoted, Ochus was everywhere acknowledged as sovereign, but the seeds of disaffection and of rebellion were plentifully planted everywhere, and this quiet succession was the prelude to speedy disillusion.

The provincial governors had been too long in the hands of an impotent prince to tolerate a tight rein. One of the first acts of Ochus was to send a representative to the coast satraps of Asia Minor, from whom the greatest danger might be apprehended, commanding them to dismiss their mercenary troops, which were the great source of their power. This order was obeyed (Scholiast to Dem., *I. Phil.* iv. 19); but as Artabazes, not content with this disarmament, determined to bring to account Artabazes, the satrap of the Hellespontine Phrygia, who had his seat of government at Daskyllion; for the part he had taken in the revolts of the previous reign, Artabazes determined to resist. He was

the nephew of the late king, and was therefore a dangerous rival as well as a powerful personage (see Diodorus, xvi. 22, 1). He had married the sister of two famous Rhodian condottieri, Mentor and Memnon, who commanded his mercenaries.

In 356 Artabazes entered into an alliance with the Athenian admiral Chares, and they presently completely routed the army of the Persian king, which numbered 70,000 men, the commander of which was named Tithraustes, or perhaps Mithraustes.

Chares also seized Lampsacus and Sigeion, towns having very close ties with the Persian king. Artabazes rewarded Chares with a very handsome largess to pay his soldiers with. Diodorus tells us that at first this news was pleasing to the Athenians, and there were in fact rejoicings at Athens, but presently, finding the resentment it had caused in Persia, whence Artaxerxes sent his envoys to lodge a complaint, they repented. The Great King also threatened to join the league of the four towns of Chios, Rhodes, Cos and Byzantium, which had been for some time at war with Athens, with a fleet of 300 sail. The Athenians were thoroughly frightened, recalled Chares and made peace with the confederated towns. Thus was concluded the Social War. Chares apparently returned to Athens in 354 B.C. (Judeich, 211).

Artabazes now turned to the Thebans for help, who sent 5,000 men under Pammenes to his assistance, while Philip of Macedon, who was friendly to him, accompanied him to Maroneia. This action of the Thebans greatly increased their fame, for they were being hard pressed in the Phokian war at the time. Pammenes is reported to have won two victories over the troops of the Imperial satraps. According to Polyænus, vii. 88, 2, the two

confederates presently quarrelled, and Artabazes had Pammenes arrested on a charge of treachery.

About 351 B.C. the Thebans had apparently withdrawn their contingent from Asia Minor and made peace with the Great King, having been corrupted by a present of 300 talents, and we find them in that year appealing to him for help in the Phokian war. We do not know what became of Artabazes for some time. He apparently fled to Macedonia with Memnon, while Mentor went to Egypt. He does not seem to have struck any money during his usurpation. Nor do we know of any coins at all struck in his special satrapy of Phrygia so early as his time.

Meanwhile Orontes, who had married Rhodogune, daughter of the late king, another turbulent satrap who no doubt felt uncomfortable under the tighter rein of the new Persian sovereign, and perhaps had reason to fear punishment from him, also rebelled. He also, no doubt, cherished the hope of retaining the control of the maritime districts of Western Asia Minor, which he had now held for some years.

Orontes was a very notable person in the history of the fourth century B.C. and it is only lately that his history has been partially disentangled. From an inscription found by the Germans at Pergamon and containing a fragment of a local chronicle we learn that he was the son of Artasyras and that he was a Bactrian by origin (see *Pergamene Inscriptions*, no. 613). On a second inscription found at Nimrud Dagh on the tomb of Antiochus the First, king of Commagene, who was his descendant, we read, "To the memory of Aroandes, son of Artasuras, who married Rhodogune, daughter of the King of Kings, the great Artaxerxes, called Mnemon" (Hermann and Puchstein, *Reisen*). Aroandes, as Reinach

has shown, is only the Armenian form Eruant of the name Orontes. These inscriptions make it plain that the Orontes who occupied and fortified Pergamon in the reign of Artaxerxes the Third was the same Orontes who as early as 401 B.C., when he had already married Rhodogune, was satrap of Armenia, as we learn from Xenophon and Trogus Pompeius (*Prol.* x.). He had commanded the land forces of the Great King in his war against Evagoras the First of Cyprus, while Tiribazes commanded the sea forces (Diodorus, xv. 2), and presently conspired against the latter and persuaded the Great King to withdraw him, and himself negotiated peace with Evagoras in 380 B.C. After a while an inquiry was instituted, Tissaphernes was restored to favour and Orontes was probably compromised and apparently transferred to another government, for when we next hear of him he is styled Satrap of Mysia (Diodorus, xv. 90, 3); according to Noeldeke this is the only occasion when Mysia is treated as a satrapy, and it was perhaps constituted specially for him. At all events his position as a son-in-law of the late king and as a successful soldier led to his being appointed leader in the great rebellion of the satraps which took place about 367 B.C., in which almost the whole of Asia Minor, Syria and Phœnicia were compromised. It would seem that Orontes now became the dominant factor in the politics of the maritime districts of Asia Minor, and remained so more or less for many years—in fact till his disappearance from Western Asia Minor about 349 B.C., Antiochus, who was loyal to Artaxerxes, was at this time the satrap of Lydia and Ionia.

We must assign to this time Orontes' occupation and fortification of Pergamon, of which epigraphic evidence

was found by the Germans in their excavations there, and his struggle in Ionia and Lydia with Autophradates, mentioned by Polyænus (vii. 14, 2-4). In 354 and 353 B.C. Orontes was again in open strife with the Great King, as is clear from a speech of Demosthenes (*De Symmoriis*, 186). In the following year we must date some of the monumental records in which Orontes is mentioned (*C.I.A.* ii. 108) in transactions and schemes of alliance with Athens, where the Persian and Anti-Persian parties ruled the roost by turns. An inscription dated in that year records the conferring of honours upon him by the Athenians (see Judeich, *op. cit.* 213-216). Judeich speaks of Orontes and the King of Egypt as in fact the most powerful opponents of the Great King, and says the former must have controlled the greater part of the coast of Western Asia Minor. The Athenians, according to an inscription, put their commanders, Chares, Charidemus and Phokion, at his service (Judeich, 213). This alliance may be placed between 354 and 350 B.C., at which latter date we find the Athenian Phokion taking part in the Cyprian expedition organised by Idrieus of Caria on behalf of the Great King (Judeich, 213, 219). Orontes now seems to have returned to Armenia.

It is very probable that some of the finest coins struck at Lampsacus were issued during his usurpation, and it seems to me very probable that the head of a Persian satrap on a well-known Lampsacene stater in the Hunterian Collection represents Orontes, as Von Sallet and Six also think (see *Num. Chron.* 1888, p. 113). Other coins in silver and bronze, with the head of Pallas or Zeus or a man's head with a Persian headdress on one side and on the other a winged horse, and identical with the coins of Iolte, only bearing the name OPONTA,

and therefore clearly struck by Orontes, have by some been attributed to Lampsacus, and by others to Iolla, both being in Mysia, and both having used the winged pegasus as a type. Others again, with a naked warrior kneeling and defending himself with a shield and a short spear on the obverse, and with the fore-part of a winged boar in an incuse square and signed OPONTA, have been attributed to Clazomenae on account of the reverse type (see *B. M. Cat., Ionia*, p. 326). These coins have been also attributed to Tarsus, from the T between the warrior's legs, but we have no evidence that Orontes ever had authority at Tarsus. His rôle was in Western Asia Minor, and this letter must mean something else. Orontes, as we have seen, was styled satrap of Mysia by Diodorus, and I would suggest that the T stands for Teuthrania, a famous town if not the capital of Mysia, of which an account is given by Strabo (see *Num. Chron.* 1890, pp. 188-190), and it may be that the winged boar on some of the anepigraphic coins of Clazomenae may, as in the case of these coins with the T, refer not to Clazomenae but to Teuthrania. It is at all events clear that the fabric of these coins is quite different from those of Tarsus, to which place Babelon also repudiates their attribution, and that they must belong to Western Asia Minor (*Les Perses Achéménides*, lxxiv., note 5).

It is nevertheless curious that the kneeling hoplite should occur both on this coin and also on true coins of Tarsus with Aramaic letters representing the beginning of its name. Waddington very ingeniously, and I think rightly, explained the figure as the result of the changed tactics introduced by Chabrias the Athenian admiral. We read of him that he taught his soldiers when charged by the enemy to kneel on one knee, to rest their shield

against their other knee, and to hold their lances at the rest (Polyæn. ii. 1, 2; Corn. Nepos, *Chabrias*). C. Nepos says the device became so famous in Greece that Chabrias chose to have his own statue, which was erected in his honour by the Athenians in the forum, in this posture. It is precisely the attitude of the hoplite on the coins, and it is well to remember that the careers of Orontes and Chabrias were largely contemporary and that the latter commanded an Athenian fleet which was in the pay of the King of Egypt in his war against Artaxerxes Mnemon, when the revolted districts of Asia Minor, which included Cilicia, and therefore Tarsus, were in alliance with him. It seems to me that we must also assign to this famous and very powerful prince (*i.e.* Orontes) some other coins, all apparently of this date and struck in different parts of the coast region of Asia Minor, where he was virtually king. Among these the most famous is a splendid tetradrachm in the British Museum (see *Catalogue of Ionia*, pl. xxxi. 6) with a remarkable head of a satrap on the obverse, while on the reverse we have a lyre such as occurs on the coins of Colophon, and on some uncommon coins of Iasos in Caria, with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΑ. I see no reason to doubt the attribution of this coin to Colophon, and it seems to me that its style makes it very unlikely to be a Carian coin as Six and Babelon have argued, nor does it seem probable that the head on the obverse, which is not crowned with the *cidaris*, but wears the ordinary head-dress of a satrap, can be anybody else than the satrap himself. Upon this I quite agree with Babelon (*op. cit.* xxxiv.), but I differ from him as to the satrap who issued it. He argues it was Tissaphernes. I think the evidence points strongly to its having been Orontes. It will be remem-

bered that Plutarch, in his life of Aratus, says that the face of Orontes, the Persian, was like that of Alkmæon, son of Amphiaraus, which makes the beautiful portrait on this coin more interesting. *Basileus* would be a style fitting to Orontes at this time. The same head occurs on the obverse of another coin in the Munich Collection, on the reverse of which is a horseman apparently in Persian dress, riding to the left, under which is the inscription ΚΙΣΘΑ, i.e. Cisthene, a town in Mysia, which I would also attribute to Orontes (see Babelon, *op. cit.* lxxiv.).

I am further disposed to transfer from Tissaphernes to Orontes three other well-known coins, one formerly in the Fox collection and now at Berlin, with a satrap's head very like in features to the Colophon tetradrachm above mentioned and with the same head-dress, and on the reverse the kneeling figure of the great king wearing the *cidaris* and holding a bow and spear, inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΑ and having a galley with one row of oars in the field (see Babelon, *op. cit.* p. xxxii.) A drachm with the same obverse and reverse types is in the British Museum (*Cat. of Ionia*, p. lxxxii. 7) and is inscribed ΒΑΣΙ. A similar hemidrachm is in the French Collection and inscribed ΒΑ (see Babelon *Cat.*, No. 167).

Let us now return again to Artaxerxes. Soon after his accession, it would seem from a somewhat vague and indefinite statement in Diodorus that he made an attempt to conquer Egypt, but he was unfortunate (Diod. Sic., xvi. 40). The Egyptian forces on that occasion were commanded by Diophantos the Athenian and Lamios the Spartan (*id.* xvi. 48). It does not seem that he commanded his own army in person. However this was, it seems pretty certain that it was this defeat which

largely encouraged the revolt of the Phœnicians and other dependants of the Great King in the Mediterranean.

The Spartan faction seems also to have filled a conspicuous rôle at the time in the Egyptian army (see Polyæn., *Strat.* ii. 66; Front., *Strat.* ii. 3, 13). Theopompus has a rhetorical passage describing the loyalty of the various allies and dependants of the Persian king at this time. "What city or what nation of Asia," he says, "did not send embassies to the sovereign? What wealth did they not lavish on him, whether the natural products of the soil or the rare and precious productions of art? Did he not receive a quantity of tapestry and woven hangings, some of purple, some of divers colours, others of pure white?, many gilded pavilions completely furnished and containing an abundant supply of linen and sumptuous beds?, chased silver, wrought gold, cups and bowls, enriched with precious stones, or valuable for the perfection and richness of their work? He also received untold supplies of barbarian and Grecian weapons, and still larger numbers of draught cattle and sacrificial victims, bushels of preserved fruit, bales and sacks full of parchments and books, and all kinds of useful articles. So great was the quantity of salted meats which poured in from all sides that from a distance the piles might easily be mistaken for rows of hillocks or high mounds" (Frag. 125 in Müller's *Frag. Hist. Græc.*, vol. i., 298-9; Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, 766).

At this time the focus and capital of Phœnicia was Tripolis, which, says Diodorus, comprised three cities all within a furlong (*stadium*) of each other, namely, the quarter of the Sidonians, of the Tyrians, and of the Aradians respectively. It was there the senate met to

deliberate upon the affairs of the country. The Great King was represented there by his satrap or legate, who treated the townsmen haughtily and tyrannically, and they determined to rebel. Having concerted a common policy with the rest of the Phœnicians, the townsmen approached Nectanebo, the Egyptian king, who was then at issue with the Persian king; they offered him their alliance, and they prepared for war.

Inasmuch as Sidon was the richest of all the Phœnician towns, and its merchants had great fortunes, its inhabitants determined to build a large number of triremes, to enlist a large body of mercenaries, and to bring together ample arms and provisions, and in order to begin the struggle and to compromise the position, they destroyed the royal garden or Paradeison, in which the Persian kings had been wont to amuse themselves, and they cut down its trees. Maspero says, I do not know on what authority, that it was in the Lebanon. They then set fire to the forage which the satraps had collected to feed the horses with—this was apparently a provision prepared for the coming Egyptian war; and lastly, they seized and executed the Persian officials who had ill-used them. Thus, whatever offence was committed by others, there can be no doubt the Sidonians had especially incurred the wrath of Artaxerxes.

The revolt of the Phœnicians and Cyprians aroused the Great King to make a vigorous effort to reinstate the fortunes of the Empire, and he determined not again to entrust the task of re-conquering the rebels to his incapable or unfortunate lieutenants, but to take command of the forces himself; and he accordingly prepared a great armament with large supplies of arms and an ample commissariat. His army consisted of 300,000 foot-

soldiers and 30,000 cavalry, with a fleet of 300 triremes and 500 transports and provision ships, and having assembled it at Babylon, he marched westwards. This was apparently in the year 345 or 344 B.C.

While he was on the march, Belesys, the satrap of Syria, and Mazaios, the satrap of Cilicia, assembled their forces and attacked Phœnicia. Meanwhile Tennes, the king of Sidon, secured the help of a contingent of 4,000 men under the command of the skilled *condottiere* Mentor the Rhodian. These were sent him by the Egyptian king, and with their help and that of the citizens he attacked the two satraps just mentioned, who no doubt had marched against him from the north, and expelled the Persians from Phœnicia.

Meanwhile a similar revolt took place in Cyprus, where there were at this time nine petty kings who ruled over nine considerable cities, under whose authority were ranged the lesser towns. These kings had all acknowledged the supremacy of the Persian king. They now conspired together, and each one proclaimed himself independent. Artaxerxes, furious at this act, which certainly bordered on insolence, wrote to Idrieus, Prince of Caria, and bade him send ships and an army of foot-soldiers to reduce the island.

About the year 353 B.C. there had died Maussolus, the king or rather the hereditary satrap of Caria, and faithful friend of the Great King. He was succeeded by his wife and sister Artemisia, who, two years later, also died, after building the famous Mausoleum for her husband, of which the remains are in the British Museum. She was in turn succeeded by her brother Idrieus, who had also married his sister Ada. It was the fashion in Caria for kings to marry their sisters, and the widows succeeded.

their husbands, to the prejudice of their living brothers and also of the sons of the late king.

Idrieus equipped 40 triremes, on which he put a force of 8,000 mercenaries under the leadership of the *condottiere* Phokion of Athens and of Evagoras, who had some years before been over-king of the island, or rather of the Phœnician settlements there, and was now an exile. His banishment had perhaps been due to his having sided with the Persians. This force was sent to Cyprus, and proceeded to attack Salamis, the largest of the Cyprian towns. They dug a trench and built themselves a fortress, and beleaguered the town by sea and land. The island had long been at peace, and was very rich, whence the invading troops secured a large booty. This having been noised abroad, they were speedily recruited from the opposite coasts of Syria and Cilicia. In this way the army of Phokion and Evagoras was doubled in size, and the petty kings were reduced to dire distress. Shortly after this Phokion returned to Athens and took part in the war with Eubœa in 349 B.C.

Let us now return to Ochus. He marched, as I have said, from Babylon to Phœnicia. Tennes, the King of Sidon, was terrified at the appearance of such a force and the disparity in numbers between it and his own army. He determined to save his own skin, and accordingly either he or his mercenary general (the account is confused, and perhaps it was the latter), sent one of his confidential officers named Thersalion to Artaxerxes, with an offer to surrender Sidon to him, and further promised to help him against Egypt, which he could the more easily do as he knew the country well and knew the various fords across the Nile.

Artaxerxes was delighted with what he heard from the

Thersalion, and promised to reward Tennes greatly if he carried out his promise. Thersalion asked the Great King to hold out his hand as a token of his sincerity as was the wont among the Persians—a demand which greatly angered him, for it seemed an imputation upon his integrity; but he eventually consented to do so, and Thersalion returned to his people (Diod. Sic., xvi. 41–43).

The Great King had a much more important object than the subjection of Sidon and the Phœnician towns, namely, to recover his hold upon Egypt, which had so much baffled him, and he determined to use all the weapons he could command for the purpose. He sent envoys to ask help from the Greek cities. The Sacred War was almost at an end. The Athenians and Lacedæmonians sent him sympathetic messages, but no material aid. The Thebans sent him 1,000 heavy-armed men under Lacrates, while the Argives sent him 3,000, who were placed under Theostratos, the King's own nominee. He was famous both for his courage and his prudence, and also for his great physical strength, and imitated Hercules in that he wore a lion's skin and carried a club when fighting. The Greeks of Asia Minor also sent a contingent of 6,000 men under Bagoas, so that the Greek contingent mounted up to 10,000 men.

Meanwhile, Ochus arrived before Sidon, whose inhabitants had determined to resist him in the most desperate fashion. They had girdled their city with a triple ditch and also built a wall around it, and duly equipped it for a great struggle. Its citizens volunteered nobly to defend their home. They were rich as well as brave, and we are told by Diodorus that they furnished a fleet of 100 triremes and quinquiremes.

These preparations were, however, of no avail in view of the treachery of the Sidonian king (abetted by the mercenary leader Mentor), or perhaps rather of Mentor, who dominated the king. They left the place with 500 men on pretence that they were going to attend the general assembly of the Phoenicians, and also took with them 100 of the principal citizens. The latter were handed over to Artaxerxes, who had them mercilessly slaughtered as authors of the revolt, while he extended a temporary favour to Tennes. Presently 500 more citizens came out, bearing olive-branches, for under the circumstances resistance was hopeless. They asked for mercy for themselves and their compatriots, but were ruthlessly put to death. Afterwards, we are told, Tennes persuaded the Egyptian mercenaries to surrender the place, and to allow him and his patron, the Great King, to enter it.

The conduct of Tennes all through this business was so utterly purposeless and base that it would almost seem as if Diodorus had not told us the whole truth. At all events we read with some satisfaction that, judging that Tennes could no longer be of service to him, Artaxerxes had his throat cut; perhaps he executed him because he failed to secure the actual surrender of the city. The Sidonians, inspired by one of those acts of dramatic despair with which history is studded, burnt their ships lest any of the citizens should try to escape, and when the enemy entered the place they shut themselves up in their houses with their wives and children and set fire to them. It is reported, says Diodorus, that 40,000 of them, including household servants, thus perished. After the fire the King sold the ashes for many talents, for the city was very rich, and a large quantity of gold and silver was found melted among the ruins. The

terrible fate of Sidon frightened the other cities of Phœnicia, which surrendered and again acknowledged the supremacy of the Great King.

Let us now return to Artaxerxes. Phœnicia and the greater part of Cyprus being at his feet, the way was open for him to prosecute what was really his great aim, namely, the conquest of Egypt. Thither he marched with all his forces. Diodorus tells us when they reached the Sirbonian Lake he lost part of his army in the bogs, then called Barathra, from a want of knowledge of the country. Having traversed this difficult district, he at length reached the first mouth of the Nile (that called Pelusium) where it enters the sea, which had been strongly fortified by the Egyptians, and where 5,000 men were in garrison under Philophron. These were doubtless mercenaries and most probably Greeks, for their captain bears a Greek name.

The Theban contingent in the Persian army made the first assault upon the ditch, but the place was hotly defended and the attacks on the first day were repelled. The next day the Greeks were divided into three bodies, each under a Greek leader, with whom was associated a trusty Persian.

The first brigade consisted of Bœotians and was led by the Theban Lacrates; with him was associated Rosaces, the satrap of Ionia and Lydia, a man of high descent, with a great body of horse and foot. Diodorus says these were all barbarians, that is to say they were not Greeks, and doubtless comprised various Asiatic contingents.

The second brigade was composed of the contingent from Argos under Nicostratus, with whom was Aristazanes, one of the Great King's most trusted friends. He had 5,000 men with him and eighty triremes.

The third brigade was led by Mentor, who had betrayed Sidon and had formerly commanded the mercenaries in the Egyptian service. With him was Bagoas, an able and unscrupulous man. He commanded the Greeks who were the Great King's subjects, *i.e.* the Greeks of Asia Minor, and a great body of barbarians, besides a large navy. The rest of the army the King kept in his own hands.

The forces of the Egyptian king Nectanebo were much smaller in number. He had 20,000 Greek mercenaries, as many Africans—these were probably Libyans—and 60,000 Egyptians, besides a great fleet of river boats on the Nile, and he had fortified the Arabian frontier by planting there a great number of fortresses well armed and equipped; but he was not a soldier, and was vain-glorious of his former successes when he possessed some excellent commanders; nor would he allow others to interfere, but determined to take the command himself.

Having garrisoned the towns, he with 30,000 Egyptians, 5,000 Greeks and half of the Libyans, defended the most dangerous approaches.

The Argives, under Nicostratus, having seized some Egyptians, detained their families as hostages and made the men act as guides. Through their aid they managed to traverse one of the canals traversing the marshes of Mensaleh with their fleet, round to a point where their men were landed and encamped. Here they were attacked by 7,000 of the enemy under Klinias, of the island of Cos. The battle was sharp, and Klinias with 5,000 of his men was killed. This defeat put Nectanebo, the Egyptian king, into a panic, and he determined to withdraw to his capital, Memphis.

Meanwhile Lacrates the Theban, who was attacking Pelusium, managed to drain the trench which girdled the

town, and raised a mound close by the walls, on which he planted battering machines with which he battered the walls. The garrison replaced the breaches with fresh walls and also raised up high wooden towers. The place held out for some days, until the garrison heard of the king's retreat. They then agreed to surrender on condition that they should be allowed to return to Greece with whatever they brought with them out of the town. Bagoas was thereupon ordered to garrison Pelusium with a body of Persians.

The promise to the soldiers who had surrendered was not kept, and they were deprived of many things they were carrying, which so exasperated Lacrates that he attacked the Persians and killed some and put others to flight, Bagoas among them. When the matter was reported to Artaxerxes he decided that Lacrates was right and those who had plundered Philophron's men were punished.

Meanwhile Mentor spread abroad the report that the Great King would receive graciously and pardon all those who submitted, while the towns which resisted would be treated as Sidon had been treated. He also gave their liberty to all the Egyptian captives he had made. This artful policy speedily led to dissensions between the rival Egyptians and Greeks who garrisoned the towns, and there was a strong party everywhere in favour of surrender. The first place to do so was Bubastis, whence the Egyptians sent an envoy to the Greek commanders. He was waylaid by Mentor's Greek mercenaries, and his employers were attacked and driven into a corner by their faithless allies. The Egyptians then sent a fresh messenger to Bagoas offering to surrender the place. This seems to have aroused the jealousy of Mentor, who secretly advised the Greeks in the town of what had taken place, and coun-

selling them to set upon Bagoas and his Persians directly they had got them entrapped in the place. This was done; Bagoas was captured and had to appeal to Mentor to rescue him. Mentor then himself persuaded the Greeks to surrender the place and also to spare Bagoas; thus the latter got the credit of capturing the place.

Strange to say, the result of all this was that Mentor and Bagoas became firm friends and the real masters of Persia, for Mentor was afterwards made governor of all the maritime districts of the Empire, and Bagoas was made satrap of Upper Asia.

The other cities of Lower Egypt followed the example of Bubastis, and Nectanebo, seeing that his cause was hopeless, collected a large mass of treasure and fled to Ethiopia. Thus Artaxerxes recovered Egypt again for the Persians. He demolished the walls of the chief cities and spoiled the temples of their treasures of gold and silver, and also carried away the records from the most ancient temples. These last, Bagoas presently allowed the priests to ransom for a large sum of money.

In former days, when fortune had not smiled upon Artaxerxes, the Egyptians, who hated him bitterly, had nicknamed him "the ass," which to them was a most unclean beast. His revenge was characteristic. He ordered that an ass should be installed in the temple of Ptah and have divine honours paid to it, while the sacred bull Apis was slaughtered and served up at a banquet which he gave his friends on taking possession of "the White Wall." It was even said that he killed it with his own hand, whence the Egyptians afterwards called him "the dagger." The sacred goat of Mendes was also slaughtered, and, as Maspero suggests, the other sacred animals probably met the same fate.

Artaxerxes after his great success sent home the Greek mercenaries, who had served him so well, with large rewards, and having appointed Pherendates satrap of Egypt, he returned to Babylon laden with spoil (Diod. Sic. xvi. c. 47-52), having also restored the prestige and power of the Empire to a high condition. The work was really done very largely by his Greek commanders and Greek mercenaries, and when the same forces were marshalled against it by the strong hand of Alexander presently, the same Empire fell in pieces like a house of cards.

Let us, however, continue our story. Mentor, the man of many resources and of scant loyalty, was amply rewarded for his recent services. He was *inter alia* presented with a hundred talents of silver and rich furniture for his house, and, as we have seen, he was made governor of all the coast lands of Asia Minor, with virtually absolute power. Mentor was the brother-in-law of Artabazes, who, as we have seen, had revolted against the Persian King. When Athens made peace with the confederated towns, Artabazes fled to Macedonia to Philip. Memnon of Rhodes, who afterwards fought so well against the Macedonians, and who was a brother of Mentor, had also rebelled against the Great King and sought refuge with Philip, who was always willing to harbour the revolted servants of his Eastern rival. Mentor now secured their pardon from the Great King and sent for them with their families. Artabazes had eleven sons and ten daughters, and Diodorus tells us that Mentor was delighted with his nephews and nieces and promoted the former to high commands in the army.

His first expedition was against Hermias, the Prince of Atarneus in Mysia, opposite Lesbos, the friend of Aristotle, who had rebelled and who possessed many

strong cities and castles. He inveigled him into a parley, secured his signet ring and wrote letters in his name to his various cities, saying that he had been restored to the royal favour through the interest of Mentor, and the various governors accordingly gave up their towns. Hermias was put to death. This manœuvre greatly pleased the Great King. By similar adroitness we are told by Diodorus he secured the obedience of the other rebellious chieftains (*op. cit.* xvi. 32).

The growing power of Philip of Macedon, of which Artaxerxes had been warned by the Athenians, had opened the eyes of at least one of the Persian grandees, namely, Arsites the satrap of the Hellespontine Phrygia, and we read how in 340 B.C. he sent help to the city of Perinthus when besieged by him, and thus enabled it to successfully resist his attack (Diod. xvi. 75). The Great King turned a deaf ear, however, to the prayer of the Athenian envoys for a subsidy, and even wrote a truculent reply, embodying his suspicions and containing menaces which his early death probably prevented him carrying out. Thus did the Persians lose their most promising ally in their deadly struggle with Macedon.

As I am trying to make this paper a fairly complete monograph I ought to say a word about an obscure part of the reign of Artaxerxes, namely, his dealings with the Jews. The Jews apparently joined in or sympathised with the general revolt of Syria and Phœnicia. Ariamnes, king of Cappadocia, left two sons, Ariarathes and Holo-phernes. Diodorus tells us that the latter took part with the Great King in his campaign against Egypt and was richly rewarded by him, and that, by the affection of his brother he was raised to the highest dignities (*op. cit.* xxxi. 19). Noeldeke suggests very plausibly that

he was employed by Ochus to pacify Palestine, which accounts for the prominent place he occupies in the book of Judith as an enemy of the Jews. We are told that at this time Jericho was captured by the Persians and the Great King settled a number of Jews in Hyrcania and Babylonia (Euseb., *Synceilus*, s. 486; Solinus, xxxv. 4, s. 171; Orosius ed. Mommsen, iii. 7, 61 f.).

It was probably after his return from his expedition to Egypt, loaded with riches and prestige, that Artaxerxes built a palace at Persepolis. An inscription still remains there in which he records his genealogy, his devotion to Ormuzd and Mithra, and his building of a vaulted colonnade (Oppert, *Records of the Past*, First Series, ix. 86 and 87).

Meanwhile, according to Diodorus, Artaxerxes grew more and more disliked by his people for his ill-nature and cruelty, and we are told that Bagoas, "a chiliarch and also a eunuch"—doubtless the Bagous already mentioned, who was evil-disposed and warlike—with the help of his physician, administered poison to the King, and put his youngest son Arses on the throne (Diodorus, vii. 5). The death of Ochus took place in the year 336 B.C.

According to Ælian (*Var. Hist.* vi. 8) the news of the death of Ochus was hailed with great delight in Egypt, upon which he had pressed with a cruel heel. It was accepted by the Egyptians as a proof of the vengeance of the gods whom he had outraged. It was reported that Bagoas was an Egyptian, that he had been privy to putting to death the sacred Apis under compulsion, and that as soon as he could do it in safety he had avenged the sacrilege. It was further said that he ate a portion of the dead king's body and threw the rest to the cats.

He then collected his bones and made them into whistles and knife handles (*Ælian, Var. Hist.*, ed Didot, 352-3; see Maspero, *The Passing of the Nations*, 807). This is of course a mere folk-tale of the Egyptians, and was probably spread about by the priests; but it may mean that Bagoas throughout all this time had remained faithful to his Egyptian religion and antecedents. This may explain the story told of him by Josephus. He calls him the general of "another Artaxerxes," and says he polluted the Temple at Jerusalem and imposed tribute on the Jews of a shekel for every lamb they offered in the daily sacrifices. He further tells us that a certain Jesus or Joshua was the brother of Johanan or John, the High Priest, and was a friend of Bagoas or Bagores (as he calls him), who had promised to get him the high-priesthood, and relying on this support he quarrelled with Johanan in the Temple and was killed by him. Josephus denounces this as a crime which had never before been committed either by Greek or barbarian, and tells us that in consequence of it the Jews were enslaved and the Temple was polluted by the Persians. Bagoas, in fact, insisted upon entering the Temple, and punished the Jews for seven years for the murder of Joshua (*Ant.* xi. 7).

Let us now turn to the regal and satrapal coins which were issued during the reign of Ochus. In regard to the imperial coinage of Artaxerxes, I have three things to say. In the first place, as in the case of the other Persian kings, the coinage of gold was no doubt a special privilege of the sovereign, and was in fact one of the most exclusive privileges retained by him, and, as Babelon says, "Although there exist some gold coins of the last kings

of Salamis and Citium, in Cyprus, and of some other Cypriot dynasts, and of the Carian Pixodaros, it may be stated as a demonstrated truth that the King of Kings had the sole right of coining gold coins in Asia. Neither the kings of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, Aradus, nor the Cilician or Lycian dynasts, nor generally those of Cyprus and Caria, nor the most powerful satraps nor the most flourishing towns of Asia Minor struck gold coins" (*op. cit.* iv.).

It was no doubt from the Persian kings that the tradition passed on to Alexander, who reserved to himself the same privilege exclusively, as did his successors the Seleucidæ, the Ptolemies, *etc.* Eventually the Roman Emperors also treated this coinage as a *peculium* of their own, whence as Babelon says, the gold coin was styled the *sacra moneta*, that specially reserved for the Emperor.

I have no doubt that the apparent exceptions to this rule were no real exceptions at all. The reign of Pixodaros of Caria extended from 341-335 B.C., when the Persian monarchy was falling to pieces, and it is perhaps a certain proof that Caria had then passed out of the hands of the Great King; while Cyprus was so far off and so difficult of access that usurpation of such a right as that of issuing gold coins was probably difficult to punish—if, indeed, the Cyprian towns were ever more than nominally subject to the satrap of Phœnicia.

Secondly, I believe that the coins struck by the Persian kings, both in gold and silver, were not struck for use by their Persian subjects in Persia and the East. Among them the precious metals passed by weight, and a true coinage did not probably exist; there being instead a modified form of barter, in which probably gold and silver were treated as standards of value, measured by

weight and not by any artificial value attaching to true coins.

On the other hand, it seems to me that while the coins of the Persian rulers were not in all probability struck for their own immediate subjects in Persia and the far East, they were, on the other hand, struck for the Greek cities and districts in Asia Minor and its borders, and the towns of Phœnicia and Cyprus which were mediately or immediately subject to the Great King, and were thus meant to circulate among people who had been accustomed to the use of coined money from early times. They were, in fact, especially meant to pay the great fleets and masses of mercenaries whom the Greeks constantly supplied for the service of the Great King. The Greeks resembled the Swiss of later days, in that they qualified their devotion to democracy at home by becoming the willing hirelings of every despot abroad; and the aphorism, "No money, no Swiss," no doubt equally applied to the Greeks of old.

This view is also that of a much more learned authority on such matters, namely Babelon. "Les Perses," he says, "continuant jusqu'à la fin à avoir recours à la balance pour peser les lingots métalliques; c'était pour le commerce de l'Asie Mineure et pour le paiement de leurs armées que les Achéménides battaient monnaie. Aussi paraît-il certain que ce fut surtout dans des ateliers d'Asie Mineure que la darique a été frappée" (*op. cit.* vii.).

This is confirmed by the fact that on a single daric now in the French collection, instead of an incuse square we have the representation of the prow of a ship with a Carian letter on it, which was therefore, with little doubt, struck in Caria (see Babelon, *Cat.*, no. 124). A unique coin acquired by the British Museum at the

Montagu sale, and weighing twelve grains, seems only explicable as having been struck in imitation of the weight of the small gold coins of Cyprus, with which it entirely agrees, and it was doubtless struck for use in Cyprus. Its type is the same as that of the darics to be presently described, namely, the King marching to the left, with his left knee bent and holding a bow in one hand and a spear in the other.

It must also be remembered that a great number of the sigloi or silver coins of the same types as these darics, and no doubt dating from the same period, are, as Babelon has mentioned, countermarked. A number of these countermarked coins are in the British Museum collection, and Babelon figures a number of the marks themselves on plate xxxix. of his work. He says of them: "Remarquons que la Lycie, la Pamphylic, la Cilicie, Cypre même, paraissent être les pays où ces contremarques ont, en général, été appliquées. La triquète, la tétraquète sont des symboles lyciens qui figurent fréquemment comme contremarques sur les sicles perses. On y trouve souvent aussi les signes qui ressemblent à la grenade des monnaies de Sidé en Pamphylie; la croix ansée paraît en Cilicie surtout." He goes on to say that one of these signs resembles the βa of the Cypriote syllabary. On one siglos occur the letters $\odot \xi$, which also figure on the archaic coins of a satrap of Lycia. The sign \blacktriangle , mentioned as occurring on a siglos by Fellows, belongs to the syllabaries of Lycia and Cyprus, while the curious sign $\xi \circ \rightarrow$, occurring on certain sigloi, is also found on Lycian coins (Babelon, xi.).

Evidence that the darics and sigloi were struck for the Western parts of the Empire, is to be gathered from the fact that so many of them have

occurred in the Greek world. A most famous find was that made in 1839 in the canal ordered to be dug by Xerxes through Mount Athos. The hoard consisted of 300 darics, together with 100 early tetradrachms of Athens. They were described by Borrell in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vi., p. 153, note. A number of darics from this find are in the French collection, and a number of others which came to the British Museum from the Woodhouse collection probably had the same provenance.

All these facts tend to show, as I have said, that the darics and sigloi were largely coined for their Greek subjects by the Great Kings.

Let us now turn to my third point.

I very much question the attribution of the Persian coins without letters or inscriptions, which include all those specially issued by the Great King, to any particular ruler. It seems to me that all the attempts to classify them by style, and notably those made by Messrs. Six and Babelon, and especially the latter, in his classical work, have failed. The distinctions seem to me arbitrary and uncertain, as Mr. Head pronounced them to be long ago, and I confess that I still prefer to say "I do not know" rather than give spurious and fictitious historical reputation to coins which they cannot be made to possess with our present knowledge. I am speaking now especially of the darics and sigloi, and excluding the double darics with Greek letters, which I think Mr. Head has conclusively shown were not struck by the Great Kings at all, but by Alexander and his successors. It is no doubt possible to sort these darics and sigloi into a more primitive and a less primitive series in regard to style, but in my view we cannot go beyond this and

assign any of the anepigraphic coins of this class to particular rulers.

I cannot myself find any criterion by which it is possible to distinguish them. The iconography of the coins seems to me to be quite conventional, and except in the case of two darics to be presently described, to be really undistinguishable as portraits. M. Babelon, who has given an elaborate classification of them, tells us that, apart from some small details in the type of the archer in a certain class of coins which he puts late, these coins are as uniform in type as the coins of Athens or those of Alexander. Their outward appearance, their weight, and the amount of alloy they contain, remain constant for two centuries from Darius I. to Darius Codomannus (*op. cit.* vii. and viii.).

I am bound to say that I altogether fail to find any marks by which to separate them definitely. The coins found at Mount Athos we may with some confidence attribute to Darius Hystaspis or Xerxes, and they are attributed by Babelon to the latter. Those from the Woodhouse collection, which probably come from the same find, have been attributed in the British Museum, from a comparison of their type, to Artaxerxes. The coins undoubtedly struck in Cyprus by Artaxerxes III., in conjunction with Evagoras II., and marked with the initial of the latter name, bear on the obverse the type of the King bending his bow and without a spear (see Babelon, plate xvii., 14, 15, and 16). This type is assigned to Darius Codomannus on another plate of the same work.

Again, a number of coins have been assigned by Babelon to Darius Codomannus, upon what grounds I do not know. On these coins the King, instead of holding

a bow and a spear, has drawn the bow to the stretch and has no spear. These coins are rare in gold, but are very common in silver; so common that it seems incredible that they should have been issued in such a short and unsettled reign as that of the last Persian king. I know of no reason of any kind for this attribution.

Again, in the British Museum series of Persian gold coins, both darics and double darics, the type, except on three, is the same throughout on the obverse, namely, the Great King marching to the right, dressed in a long robe, with a crown on his head, and holding a spear with a round knob at the end of it in his right hand, and a bow in the other. On one coin alone, which is attributed to Cyrus the Younger by Babelon, the figure is that of a beardless young man, and not of a bearded one, and the stuff of which his gown is made is apparently hairy, and may be made of the material called kainakkes, but I do not know why the coin should be assigned to Cyrus the Younger. More than one of the other Achaemenian kings were young when they mounted the throne.

Whichever way we look at the problem of arranging the Persian series, therefore, we seem to lack any reliable criterion by which to distribute them among the different kings. All we can say is that the series started with Darius Hystaspis and went on to the end of the dynasty in the reign of Darius Codomannus, but we cannot, if we follow inductive methods, assign any of these coins (from their types) to any particular king. The coins found at Mount Athos we may, with confidence, assign to the first Darius or Xerxes. We may presently, perhaps, similarly assign other coins if we find them with others of which we otherwise know the date, but this will, I am afraid, not help us to a scientific arrangement of

the coins when their provenance is unknown. I cannot, therefore, see my way to definitely attribute any of the Imperial Persian coins specifically to Artaxerxes III.

The coins attributed by Babelon to Bagoas (*Cat. Achém.* 351-371), and affirmed by him to have been struck in Egypt, seem to me again to be so attributed on most insufficient grounds. To my mind they are most clearly coins of Phœnicia. Bagoas was never satrap of Egypt as far as we know. He only filled a subordinate position in the Egyptian war, and was really subject to Mentor. Directly after the Egyptian war, Artaxerxes nominated another person, namely, Pherendates, as satrap of Egypt, and he sent the mercenary soldiers home. Bagoas was given a satrapy in Upper Asia, where he apparently continued to live not far from the court, for he was eventually responsible for the assassination of two of the Persian kings. How, under these circumstances, he could possibly have struck coins in Egypt, I do not know. The only direct reason for attributing these coins to Egypt given by Babelon, is that on them the man behind the ear wears a tall mitre, like that worn by the kings of Lower Egypt; but this was also a Phœnician head-dress, and is in fact the usual head-dress worn by the Phœnician deities. Apart from this a precisely similar figure is found on one of the double staters in the British Museum, which has on it not the letter σ only, but the letters $\sigma\omicron$ (see *Hist. Num.*, p. 672, figure 354), which are generally treated as the initials of the Phœnician form of the name of Strato, King of Sidon. (A similar figure is given in one of Babelon's own plates, *Les Perses Achéménides*, pl. xxx., fig. 11.)

It seems plain, therefore, that every reason for attributing these coins to Egypt fails, and we must resort

to the views which were generally held before Babelon wrote his memoir, namely, that the coins in question were struck in Phœnicia or for Phœnicians.

Let us now shortly consider the Sidonian coins of this period, which have been admirably treated by M. Babelon. The King of Sidon, called Tennes by Diodorus, had, as we have seen, been put on the throne of Sidon on the revolt of Strato I., by the Persian king, and possibly, as M. Babelon says, he was not of Semitic origin. On some of his coins the years of his reign are marked, and as we have four of these numbers on them, and four only, it seems probable that he in fact only reigned four years under the conditions which dominated their issue. These conditions were undoubtedly that he reigned as the subordinate of the Persian king. On one side of these coins we have the representation of a Phœnician galley propelled by oars and without sails; on the other is the portrait of the Great King, with the Phœnician letters representing the two first letters of the name of Tennes. The four years just mentioned cover the period when Artaxerxes II. was succeeded by Artaxerxes III. The coins of his first year were in fact struck in the last year of Artaxerxes Mnemon. The king is represented wearing the *cidaris* on his head and having on him the robe called the *candys*, holding a dagger in his right hand and seizing a lion's mane with the other. This is a Phœnician tritemorion. On a double stater of his third year the Great King is represented standing in his chariot drawn by three horses, marching to the left. He wears a *cidaris*, and holds aloft his right hand. His charioteer holds the reins. Behind the chariot there follows an official on foot, wearing a low tiara. In his left hand he holds an *oinochoe*, and in his right a

sceptre with an animal's head upon it. These coins were doubtless issued, as M. Babelon says, during the four years 362-358, when Tennes remained loyal to the Great King.

The destruction of Sidon was only temporary, and it must soon have risen again from its ashes. The next step in its history was recovered by the ingenuity of M. Babelon. Diodorus tells us that Evagoras II., having been nominated for a short time to a command in Cyprus, was presently transferred to another in Asia, and M. Babelon has shown that this was no other than the government of Sidon, for we meet with coins which bear the two first letters of the name of Evagoras in their Phœnician form, $\text{O O} = \text{v v}$, as we find them on his Cyprian issue. They are marked, like other Sidonian coins, with the years of his reign, and inasmuch as we only meet with them during three years, this confirms the statement of Diodorus that he did not hold his post very long. If, as Babelon suggests, we allow a year for the time during which Sidon was in ruins, we may take it that he continued to reign until four years after the death of Tennes, when he was probably expelled or deprived of his satrapy, and the Sidonians reverted to their old royal line in the person of Strato II., whose coins prove that he deemed himself a dependant of the Great King.

Let us now turn to another series of coins which M. Babelon attributes to Sidon, but I think on doubtful grounds. Let us begin with the oldest. Of these, a remarkable specimen in the British Museum, obtained from Mr. T. K. Rich in 1868, is of the weight of 422·8 grains, and represents a coin of 6 sigloi. On the reverse, in an incuse square, the Persian king is being driven by a

charioteer in a three-horsed chariot. There is no figure behind the chariot, as on other coins of the series, nor is there any letter or mark on it. Above the chariot is an incuse representation of the head of an ibex facing. On the other side is a galley with sails and moving to the left; underneath is a conventional representation of the sea. The incuse representation is a very curious one. It seems to me to be distinctly a countermark, and we will return to it presently. A second example of this coin is figured by Imhoof-Blumer (*Choix, etc.*, pl. vii., 229).

Other coins of the same series, and doubtless of the same period, are of smaller dimensions. First, on the sigloi, or half-staters, we have on the obverse a figure of the Great King standing and drawing his bow to the full, while on the reverse is a sailing galley similar to that on the coins last mentioned. Of these sigloi, one in the Vienna collection is not countermarked. It is figured by Babelon (*op. cit.* clxxxiii.). On the specimens in the British Museum and the French collection, which weigh 104·9 grains, we have two countermarks, also incuse. One is the horn of an ibex, while the other, according to Babelon, who figures the French coin, is a full face of the god Besa (see his *Cat.*, no. 1563, pl. xxix., fig. 19). The coin in the British Museum was bought in 1856 from Mr. T. K. Lynch, who obtained it in Persia.

Thirdly, we have some smaller coins, namely, sixths of staters or tritemorions, represented both in the French collection and the British Museum. On the obverse is a figure of the King half kneeling and drawing his bow, in an incuse square, while a similar galley is on the other side.

This series of coins has a very early look. The incuse square and the general rudeness of the coins, the im-

pressions being struck on rough pieces of silver, seem to me to make it impossible to attribute them to a later date than the first part of the fifth century B.C., nor do I think they were issued by any of the Phœnician towns. They seem to me to be Imperial Persian coins struck for the purpose of paying the Phœnician fleets in the Persian wars of the fifth century, and may well belong to the reign of Xerxes and the time of the battle of the Eurymedon in 465 B.C. The countermarks on them support this view. The goat's or ibex's head seems to recall the coins of Salamis. The only reason for attributing the series to Sidon is the presence of the galley on them, but the galley does not occur on the autonomous coins of Sidon of this early date, while it does occur on those of Aradus and Gebal, and is really a generic representation of the fleet; nor can I believe for a moment that these coins were struck so late as 390 B.C.

Let us now turn to another series of similar coins. These also for the most part are anepigraphic, and they have been attributed to Sidon, as it seems to me very arbitrarily, by M. Babelon.

They consist of quadruple sigloi, sigloi and trite-morions, and are apparently a continuation of the former series, and are also Imperial and not merely local coins, and were probably struck to pay the Phœnician fleet.

On the quadruple sigloi we have on the reverse the Great King standing in his chariot holding up his right hand. The chariot is drawn by two horses only, and the design is in an incuse roundel. On the other side is a representation of a rowing galley with one row of rowers, anchored at the foot of a fortress which is crenellated and armed with five towers. As the galley is at anchor its sails are naturally down. Below this are represented two

lions walking away from each other and standing back to back.

As in the other series there is an incuse countermark; on these coins it is underneath the feet of the horses attached to the chariot. According to Babelon it represents a dead ibex (*Hist. Num.*, page 671, figure 353).

Let us now turn to Cyprus. On the submission of the Phœnician towns, their example was followed by the revolted cities of Cyprus, except Salamis, which was bravely defended by its king Pnytagoras and which was besieged by Evagoras and Phokion. Evagoras apparently obtained for a short while the supreme rule in Cyprus, always excepting Salamis. The king of the latter, Pnytagoras, it would appear, accused Evagoras of misconduct and made his peace with Artaxerxes, who granted him his kingdom of Salamis, while Evagoras was appointed to rule a great province in Asia. Accused of misgovernment, he fled once again to Cyprus, where he was captured and put to death (Diodorus, lib. xvi., 43-46).

This is the account which Diodorus gives us about the latter part of the reign of Evagoras, and it is singularly confirmed by his coins. Of these perhaps the most interesting are a series of which a number were found, as Babelon tells us, in a hoard not many years ago at Calymna, in the island of Rhodes, with coins of the Carian princes Maussolos, Idrieus and Pixodaros. Hence and because they are of Rhodian weight, M. Six argued that they had been struck in Caria. This view is contested by M. Babelon. He argues that other coins of Rhodian weight were certainly issued in Cyprus. The fact that they have Phœnician letters upon them seems to make it clear that they were struck not in Caria but

in Cyprus, while their weight, as M. Babelon argues, is probably due to the fact that they were meant to pay the Greek mercenaries from Asia Minor who were led by the Carian chief Idrieus. The types of these coins are quite different from the contemporary Carian coins, while the symbols on them are Cyprian. Of these we know the lion's head, the dove, the eagle, the head of Hercules and lastly the dolphin, which is found on the coins of Nicocles (Babelon, *Les Perses Achém.*, cxxiv. and cxxv.). All this, however, is consistent with the fact that though not meant to be current in Caria, they were possibly struck there for the special purpose of paying the mercenaries. These coins were no doubt issued in Cyprus by Evagoras when he was representing the Great King there as a kind of satrap. On the obverse we have a representation of Artaxerxes Ochus half kneeling to the right and drawing his bow. His cidaris is finished off at the top with three points. He wears the candys and carries a quiver full of arrows on his back. On the reverse we have what is doubtless meant to be a representation of Evagoras himself riding a horse at the gallop and using his lance, which he holds aloft in his right hand. His head is covered with the Persian tiara and his robe is girdled at the waist. Above the horse is the letter O, the initial of Evagoras. On one type of these tetradrachms the first two letters of the name Evagoras occur. In addition to these tetradrachms M. Babelon describes some obols, two of which he figures. These have a bust of Aphrodite turned to the left on the obverse. She wears a crenellated diadem on her head and also has earrings. On the reverse is a bust full-face in a Persian tiara with flaps covering the cheeks and fastened on the chin as in the horseman on the tetradrachms. There are no letters on

these obols, but it is hardly possible to attribute them to any one else than Evagoras, who alone of the rulers of this dynasty would be represented wearing a Persian head-dress.

The issue of these coins was doubtless limited to the short time only when Evagoras remained in Cyprus and before he was made governor of Sidon, as I have already described.

On the withdrawal of Evagoras, Pnytagoras continued to rule at Salamis, and was reigning there in the time of Alexander the Great and took service with him. We have numbers of his coins, but they are not immediately interesting to us here, for they contain no trace of any kind of the domination of the Persian King at Salamis. It would seem, in fact, that the Persians with their Greek allies never took the place, and that Evagoras only controlled the other parts of the island. There are no Phœnician or Cypriote letters on these coins, but the inscriptions, like the types, are purely Greek. The Phœnician settlements in Cyprus were doubtless subject, except when in revolt, to the satrap of Syria and Phœnicia, but I know of no evidence that he controlled the Greek towns there, and the notion that Cyprus was subject to the Great King must be accepted with a large reservation. Diodorus calls Pnytagoras Protagoras, and M. Babelon has made separate persons of the two, making Protagoras the father of Pnytagoras and the son of Evagoras I., but for this there is no authority of any kind, it seems to me, and the whole thing is easily explained as a natural mistake of Diodorus, to whom Pnytagoras must have been a very unfamiliar name.

As we have seen, Belesys, satrap of Syria, and Mazaïos, the satrap of Cilicia, opposed the revolted Phœnician

towns, pending the arrival of Ochus in person, but they did not command a sufficient force, and Tennes, King of Sidon, defeated them and compelled them to abandon Phœnicia (Diodorus, xvi. 8). This, according to Diodorus, took place in 351 B.C. M. Six points out that at this time, as in the time of Darius, the fifth satrapy comprised all the country from Posidion as far as Egypt—Cœlesyria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Northern Arabia and Cyprus (Herodotus, iii. 91; Xenophon's *Anabasis*, vii. 8, 25). The North of Syria, on the other hand, formed part of his fourth satrapy of Cilicia, but was afterwards detached, and it was there that Belesys, called Satrap of Syria and Assyria by Xenophon, was living in 401. He was probably the same man as the Belesys of 351 (see Xen. i. 4, 10; vii. 8, 25), for it is remarkable how long-lived the satraps as a rule were. If so he must now have been a very old man. Mazaïos, according to Judeich, became Satrap of Cilicia in the same year as Artaxerxes Ochus mounted the throne, having succeeded Datames there.

After the unsuccessful struggle against the Phœnician towns we hear no more of Belesys. It may be that from the initial letter on the coins attributed by Babelon to Bagoas they were issued by Belesys to pay his forces on the occasion of his war against the revolted towns, or on previous occasions. He may have perished in this war or died soon after, for presently we find his satrapy united to that of Mazaïos, who is styled on some of his coins Satrap of "Abarnahra and Cilicia." By Abarnahra, "beyond the river," is no doubt, as Halevy showed, meant the country west of the Euphrates—*i.e.* Cœlesyria. On the disappearance of Evagoras, who had been governor of Sidon, as we have seen, it would seem that Mazaïos became the dominant overlord on behalf of the Great King,

both of the Phœnician towns on the mainland and probably also of the Phœnician settlements in Cyprus. This we gather from his coins, for unfortunately our information about him is otherwise very scanty.

In a previous paper I have excluded certain coins from the list of those generally attributed to Mazaïos, and have attributed them to a later time. Let us now turn to the rest. These, it seems to me, may be arranged in several series to illustrate the different events in his life.

First, I would name what I deem to have been his original, initial coinage, *i.e.* the coins he issued as satrap of Cilicia before the Western campaign of Artaxerxes. On these coins we have on the obverse the figure of a god, with the inscription Baaltars round it, and on the reverse a well-modelled "lion passant" to the left, with the name of Mazaïos in Aramaic letters.

In some cases (see Babelon, *op. cit.*, pl. vi., figs. 18 and 19) the lion has the sun above him and the crescent below his feet. I cannot help thinking that this is the badge and emblem of the Persian Empire, as it still is of the kingdom of Persia.

This type of the god and the lion walking to the left occurs, as we have seen, on later coins, probably struck by the successors of Mazaïos before the time of Alexander, and it is the only type of his they used, which seems to me to be strong evidence that it was the real original type, while the others were accidental ones.

The others, in fact, were employed rather to commemorate particular events, and even, perhaps, struck to pay the wages of the fleet or the soldiery on particular occasions.

Reverting to the typical series above described, I would say a few words about the god represented on them.

I find in the numismatic memoirs known to me, and notably in that most excellent book, Mr. Hill's *Catalogue of the Coins of Cilicia*, that Baal is treated as a personal name of a god. As a matter of fact it is merely an appellative. There were many Baalim. Baal, like its Babylonian form Bel, merely meant Lord, or The Lord, and it would be better to speak of "The Baal" rather than of "Baal," as if he were some special god with a special name.

I venture to question, in fact, the identification of the figure of the god on the coins of Tarsus on which the word *Baaltars* occurs as *the* god of Tarsus. *The* great god of Tarsus, as Dio Chrysostom tells us, was Hercules, that is, Sandan or Melkart, who is represented on some coins of the city. This god, who has either a bunch of grapes or an eagle in his hand, has nothing to do with Melkart.

Again the various memoirs I have read about the coins of Cilicia treat the word *Baaltars*, which occurs on the coins of Tarsus, as the name of a god. I do not think this is quite certain. The form of the name does not suggest this conclusion. It seems to me that if we follow analogies, it is rather the name of a place, and not of a god, and in every probability that it is the name by which Tarsus itself was known to the Aramaic-speaking people who lived there. I would compare with it such place-names as the following, all occurring in Syria, Palestine, or Phœnicia, districts neighbouring on Cilicia, and whose people spoke a closely cognate language:—Baal Judah, Baal Gad, Baal Hamon, Baal Hazor, Baal Meon, Baal Peor, Baal Perazim, Baal Shalisha, Baal Tamar, Baal Zebub (which has been shown to be a place-name, and not to mean "god of flies" as generally supposed), and

Baal Zephon. In these cases the names, whatever their explanation, are not personal but geographical.

A more important analogy for my purpose may be drawn from some of the coins of Gazur, the capital of Cappadocia, on which it is called Baal Gazur, or Baal Gazer (see Babelon, *Rois Achém.*, lxxxiii.). The god on these coins is precisely the same as that called Baaltars on some of the coins of Tarsus, and shows that each name is only an appellative. It has not, I think, been noticed that while on one side of these coins of Baal Gazur the representation of the griffin killing the stag is an echo of the lion killing the stag on some of the coins of Mazaïos, on the other the god is represented with the eagle, which was the form adopted on the coins I have ventured to attribute to Byblus. On these coins the inscription, as I have said, instead of being Baaltars, is Baal Gazer or Baal Gazur. They have another peculiarity, namely, that some of them present both Aramaic and Greek letters.

Let us now turn to the coins with the reverse of the lion killing the stag. As Six and Hill have pointed out, the reverse of all these coins, which is entirely new in Asia Minor, is directly taken from that of the coins of Citium in Cyprus, where it was an old one going back to the time of Azbaal who reigned from 449 to 425 B.C. In addition to this we also have an explanation of the shallow incuse square which had been abandoned at Tarsus but retained in Cyprus (Hill, *Cat. of Cilicia*, cxxxii.). I may notice another very interesting fact, that the *crux ansata* which occurs on some of these coins is a very common symbol on the Cyprian coins, and forms in fact the actual reverse of many coins of Salamis (Babelon, xvi.).

The letter O which occurs on some of these coins ought assuredly to be placed in comparison with the same letter on the coins of true Persian types issued in Cyprus by Artaxerxes Ochus (see Babelon, pl. xvii., Nos. 14 and 15). It is simply the initial letter of the name Evagoras II. of Salamis. The M on some of them may represent the initial of Marium, in Cyprus. The ram's head is surely taken from the ordinary type of the coins of Salamis (see Babelon, pl. xvi.).

This series of facts makes it plain that the coins just described were meant to be circulated not at Tarsus, with which they have little or nothing to do, but in Cyprus, and especially in Citium, and they typify the domination of the Persian King there, and probably the fact, as Mr. Hill says, that Cyprus or a portion of it was then subject to the Cilician satrap. Why they should be treated as coins of Tarsus or be catalogued among the coins of Cilicia I do not know.

It seems to me that they were struck in Cyprus, as is evidenced by their incuse square, and by the fact that they had a type and symbols probably understood only in Cyprus, and were meant to have currency in Cyprus, and that they are as much coins of Cyprus as the Hanoverian money of George III. was Hanoverian and not English.

Let us now pass on to another series of the coins of Mazaïos. On these we have a lion devouring a bull instead of devouring a stag. This Mr. Hill calls the emblem of Tarsus (I do not know why), and he bases an argument against Babelon on the fact. Except this series there is only a single coin of Tarsus known to me with this type (*Brit. Mus. Cat., Cilicia*, pl. xxviii. 12), and its meaning on this coin is very doubtful, since the reverse, an ear of corn diagonally in a square, is a

unique one. The type on the obverse, on the other hand, is that of Byblos in Phœnicia, which was probably the head-quarters of the satraps Mazaios and Belesys when they went there to put down the revolt of the district. After the war Phœnicia was joined to the satrapy of Mazaios, and we may be sure that, as in Cyprus, he struck a local coinage in Phœnicia. In Cyprus he took the type in vogue at Citium. In Phœnicia he seems to have taken the type in vogue at Byblos. This type occurs in two forms. In one the lion devouring the bull occupies the reverse; in the other this carnasial incident is represented on the walls of a town or fortress; and it seems to me that the two types may have a separate meaning. On the obverse of the former class of coins the god is represented in every case, I believe, with an eagle, and the eagle only occurs on coins of this type. There is again a double form of the god associated with the eagle. In certain coins, of which Babelon describes one (*i.e.* No. 226, pl. v., 12), the god is represented in profile as on the coins from Cyprus above mentioned. Of this type two staters occur in the British Museum and are figured (*Cat. of Cilicia*, pl. xxv., 10 and 11). In another type the god is represented facing; of this form Babelon describes eleven coins and Mr. Hill six. There are minor differences only. All these coins were apparently struck at Byblos to be used in Phœnicia; on some of them, the letters $\alpha\eta$ occur in the field, or these letters reversed. These letters have been supposed, by Babelon to represent Mallus, but surely they may as well represent Marathus. The fact that the letters are Aramaic is no bar, for we know that Mazaios also struck octodrachms of an entirely different type at Sidon, with inscriptions in *Aramaic* and not Phœnician letters (*Hist. Num.* 672).

These latter coins are interesting because they enable us to date the reign of Mazaïos with greater precision. As I showed in a previous paper, distaters with the name of Mazaïos occur with the numbers 1, 2 and 3 on them, and M. Babelon has treated them as if these refer to the regnal years of Ochus. This I think is impossible. M. Six has rightly treated them as the first, second and third year of Ochus' successor Arsēs; the hiatus between the years 3 and 19 (which M. Babelon allows), might have warned him against the improbability of his conclusion. The evidence of the coins, then, is that Mazaïos was satrap of Syria from the nineteenth or twentieth year of Ochus to the third of Arsēs, *i.e.* from 339 or 340 B.C. to 334 B.C.

H. H. HOWORTH.

II.

THE COINAGE OF WILLIAM WOOD, 1722-1733.

(See Plates I.-II)

CHAPTER I.

BRIEF LIFE OF WILLIAM WOOD.

It is unfortunately a matter of considerable difficulty to write anything approaching a full or connected account of the life and work of William Wood, owing to the insufficient data left to us. This may very naturally give rise to some little surprise when one considers the no small part that Wood played in public affairs during the later years of the reign of George I.

William Wood appears to have been born July 31, 1671, and during the period 1692-1713 he resided at the Deanery, Wolverhampton.

He must, prior to his venture in the numismatic field, have been a person of very considerable financial standing, since we are informed that he was the owner of copper and iron mines in the west of England, and is understood to have leased mining rights, in some thirty-nine English and Welsh counties; and when we remember his ability to pay £10,000 for his patent, very different must we picture him, in comparison with the sorry figure presented to our imagination by Swift and other writers of the same school.

Early in 1722 the Duchess of Kendal, the King's mistress, received from the Earl of Sunderland a patent for coining copper money for Ireland, which she appears

to have sold to William Wood for the sum of £10,000, the details of which coinage appear in the indenture which George I. commanded to be drawn up between himself and Wood.

This indenture, which was issued June 16, 1722, presented the following points. The patent was for the period of fourteen years, for the sole privilege of coining halfpence and farthings for Ireland, the total weight of which was not to exceed three hundred and sixty tons, thirty pence being coined from one pound avoirdupois. During the first year one hundred tons were to be coined, and twenty tons during each of the succeeding thirteen years. Wood was to pay during each year the sum of £800, the reserved rent to the King, and £200 to the clerk comptroller. This patent was passed July 22, 1722, by the English Commons, without reference to the Irish Privy Council or the Lord Lieutenant.

The value of the total weight of copper, viz., 360 tons, at this period amounted to the sum of £43,680, and if coined at the rate of thirty pence to the pound, it would have produced the sum of £108,000.

I subjoin the total cost of coining 360 tons of copper at this period in tabular form.

Value of 360 tons of copper at 13 <i>d.</i> per lb. .	£13,680
Converting into bars at 5 <i>d.</i> per lb. . .	16,800
Cost of coining at 4 <i>d.</i> per lb. . . .	13,940
Rent to the Crown, etc.	14,000
Purchase of patent	10,000
	<hr/>
	£98,420

At the Royal mint at this time one pound of copper was coined into forty-six halfpence, and consequently 360 tons would produce about £77,280, in other words about £30,720 less than the patent for the Irish coinage provided for.

From the above table it will be apparent that, had Wood carried out the provisions of the patent strictly, his profits would, in the course of fourteen years, have amounted to the miserable sum of £9,580, a profit scarcely commensurate with the labour involved.

As a result of this, it will occasion no surprise to learn, that in order to make the affair yield a reasonable return, the weight of the coins was cut down, as will be apparent from the table below, which gives the weights of specimens selected from parcels sent to Ireland, for issue there, a number being taken from each parcel weighed and divided into lots.

The different lots.	Weight of Halfpenny	Number in 1 lb.		Current value, 1722, in		
		Integer.	Dec.	Pence.	Half-pence.	Dec.
First sort	grs. 120	58	·33	29	0	·33
Second sort	111	63	·06	31	1	·06
Third sort	103	67	·96	33	1	·96
Fourth sort	96	72	·91	36	0	·91
The average	107·5	65	·11	32	1	·11

	Quantity coined.	Cost coined.	Current value.		Loss to Public.	
	tons.	£	£	s.	£	s.
If a patent provided	360	74,420	108,000	0	33,580	0
If first sort coined	„	„	97,994	8	23,574	8
If second sort coined	„	„	105,940	16	31,520	16
If third sort coined	„	„	114,172	16	39,752	16
If fourth sort coined	„	„	122,488	16	48,068	16
If average coined	360	74,420	110,149	4	35,729	4

In January, 1722-23, the striking of these Irish pieces began, the place of issue or mint being in Phoenix Street, Brown's Gardens, Seven Dials; whence they were conveyed by waggon to Bristol, where they were shipped to various ports in Ireland, Dublin being of course the principal centre for their distribution.

August, 1722. In the Treasury Papers appears a memorial of William Wood for a license to coin "copper money for Ireland at the city of Bristol." On August 3rd, a Treasury minute is to be found, ordering a constitution appointing Sir Isaac Newton comptroller of the coinage, when the Treasury will give Wood powers to coin a certain quantity of copper money at Bristol.

August 31st. Treasury warrant authorising Wood to establish his office for coining at or near Bristol (Hist MSS. Com., Appendix to 8th Report, p. 79).

The dies for this issue were in all probability engraved by the same artists who prepared those for the American coinage, at least this is certainly the case in respect to the obverse dies.

Pieces of the dates 1722 and 1723 were struck and issued in Ireland to the sum of £14,566, of which £1,086 was issued in farthings. The coins of the year 1722 do not appear to have had any large circulation and were in all probability only issued as patterns.

Wood's coinage for Ireland never appears to have been popular, and this may in no small measure have been due to the secrecy attending its issue. Since the Irish nation had never been consulted in this matter, and their interests but little regarded, it is not surprising to find, September 13, 1723, both Irish Houses of Parliament petitioning the King in regard to this subject, in which petition they were joined by the Lords Justices, the

Council, and the Grand Juries of the city and county of Dublin.

Wood was at this period described "as guilty of most notorious fraud in his coinage," and foolishly allowed himself to be drawn into a very unwise reply, which appeared in *The Flying Post*, Oct. 8, 1723. Now there is no doubt that Wood, firm in his belief as to the omnipotence of Walpole, expressed his views as to the Irish in language more forcible than elegant, since among other remarks he is reported to have said "that he would cram his brass down their throats in spite of them."

Shortly after this appeared the first of a series of seven letters, the author of which was Jonathan Swift, D.D., Dean of St. Patrick's, and since they were signed M. B. Drapier, became known as Drapier's Letters and were supposed to have been written by a drapier or draper resident in Dublin. The first letter made its appearance April, 1724, and produced a tremendous sensation, being followed at short intervals by the others. Swift placing all regard for the truth on one side, and aiming solely at the aggrandisement of himself, and if fortunate at the overthrow of his old enemy, Walpole, found all the means for such an end ready to hand. Here was an opportunity not to be missed, and, emerging from his comparative obscurity, he availed himself of it with readiness, and in a few homely but at the same time telling words, poured out the imagined wrongs of his country.

By such means as this was the prospect of a successful future for this coinage done away with, and although Wood in 1724 consented to reduce the amount of his issue to one of £40,000, and limit the tender to fivepence halfpenny, yet in the following year, 1725, we find him

consenting to resign his patent in consideration of his receiving a pension of £3,000 per annum, for eight years, on the establishment of Ireland.

On April 10, 1724, a letter from the Treasury to Sir Isaac Newton occurs, directing him to send a competent person to Bristol, where Mr. Wood had his office, to assay the fineness of his halfpence.

Notwithstanding the outcry raised against these pieces, the report of Sir Isaac Newton, the then Master of the Royal Mint, amply proves them to have been in many respects very admirable coins, and vastly superior to any copper money previously coined for use in Ireland, their only fault being the discrepancies in weight between individual specimens.

The following advertisement will serve to show the contemporary feeling in regard to these Irish pieces.

ADVERTISEMENT.

"Whereas I, Thomas Handy, of Meath Street, Dublin, did receive by the last packet from a person in London, to whom I am an entire stranger, bills of lading for eleven casks of Wood's halfpence, shipped at Bristol, and consigned to me by the said person on his own proper account, of which I had not the least notice until I received the said bills of lading.

"Now I, the said Thomas Handy, being highly sensible of the duty and regard which every honest man owes to his country and to his fellow-subjects, do hereby declare, that I will not be concerned, directly or indirectly, in entering, landing, importing, receiving, or uttering any of the said Wood's halfpence, for that I am fully conceived, as well from the addresses of both houses of parliament as otherwise, that the importing and uttering the said halfpence will be destructive to this nation, and prejudicial to his Majesty's revenue.

"And of this my resolution I gave notice by letter to the person who sent me the bills of lading, the very day I received them, and have sent back the said bills to him.

"THO. HANDY.

"DUBLIN, 29th Aug., 1724."

On July 12th, 1722, Wood also obtained a patent to issue coins for the North American Colonies, or, as they were then called, "The Plantations," for a term of fourteen years. The amount to be coined was not to exceed 300 tons, of which 200 tons were to be coined in the first four years and not more than ten tons per annum during the last ten. For this right of coinage Wood was to pay an annual rent to the Crown of £100 and to the clerk comptroller £200. The material for the coinage of these American pieces was a mixture called Bath metal, the composition of which, in twenty ounces of metal, was as follows:—

Silver	1 dwt.
Tutanaigue	4 ozs. 19 dwts.
Brass	15 ozs.

Of this sixteen ounces were to be coined into thirty twopenny pieces, sixty pence, or one hundred and twenty halfpence. This series of coins for America, best known by the name of the "Rosa Americanas," was issued during the years 1722–1724; the dies being engraved by the following artists—Mr. Lammas, Mr. Harold, and Mr. Standbroke, who were probably also the engravers for the Irish issues. Together with William Wood there appear to have been associated in this venture one Kingsmills Eyres, Esq., and a Mr. Marsland of Cornhill, a hardwareman, which latter person it is related had a cellar full of these coins, and since the difficulty of passing them appears to have been as great as was the case with the Irish series, it may be no surprise to learn that Mr. Marsland was ruined thereby and subsequently died an inmate of Gresham College.

Some of the dies for the American coinage were taken

to New York by Mr. Winthorpe, when he emigrated thither.

The American coins were struck at the French Change, Hogg Lane, Seven Dials, and also at Bristol, and were made of Bath metal, the composition of which we have previously alluded to. The blanks were heated before being struck by the die, which was raised to a considerable height and then released, and this fact may in some measure account for the numerous examples which appear to be blistered as though by the action of fire. No doubt the unusual composition of the metal of which these coins were struck accounts for but few examples having reached us in fine condition, the softness of Bath metal being but little calculated to withstand the ravages of time and circulation. In regard to the difficulty of passing this issue, the following letter dated October 29th, 1725, to the Governor of New Hampshire, is of interest.

Whitehall 29th Oct^r 1725.

“Sir

His Majesty having been pleased to grant to Mr. William Wood his Letters Patents for the Coyning of Halfpence, Pence and Two Pences of the Value of Money of Great Britain for the Use of His Maj^{ty}'s Dominions in America, which said Coyn is to receive such additional Value as shall be reasonable and agreeable to the customary allowance of Exchange in the several parts of those His Maj^{ty}'s Dominions, as you will see more at large by a Copy of the Patent, which will be laid before you by the person, that delivers this Letter to you; I am to signify to you His Maj^{ty}'s pleasure, that, in pursuance of a Clause in the said Patent by which all His Maj^{ty}'s Officers are to be aiding and assisting to Mr. Wood in the due Execution of what is therein directed and in the legal Exercise of the several Powers and Enjoyment of the Privileges and Advantages thereby granted to him, you give him all due Encouragement and Assistance, and that you and all such other of His Maj^{ty}'s Officers there, whom it may concern, do readily perform all legal Acts, that

may be requisite for that purpose ; This I am particularly to recommend to your Care ; and to desire your Protection to Mr. Wood and to those he shall employ to transact this affair in the Provinces under your Government. I am

Sir

Your most humble Servant

HOLLES NEWCASTLE.

“Gov^r of the Massachusetts Bay
and New Hampshire.”

On January 14th, 1723, the following notice appears in *The London Post*. “William Wood, of Wolverhampton, Esq., having a patent for fourteen years, for coining farthings and halfpence for Ireland, and halfpence, pence, and twopences for all His Majesty’s dominions in America, hath erected a building in Phoenix Street, Brown’s Gardens, near the Seven Dials, for the American coinage, and another in the city of Bristol for the Irish coinage.”

On January 18th appears in the same journal the further information, which also occurs in the *St. James’s Journal* on January 19th. “Wood began his coinage for Ireland on Monday last near the Seven Dials. In about a week’s time he will begin to coin at Bristol pieces for America, which will be made of a beautiful compound metal.”

Though the Irish patent was surrendered in 1725, this does not appear to have been the case with that for the American issue, and confirmation of this may be found in the issue of a pattern piece dated 1733, which, though subsequent to Wood’s decease, was in all probability the work of his successors to the privileges of the patent.

William Wood only enjoyed his Irish pension for five years, as he died in London, August 2nd, 1730. He was married to Mary Molyneaux, of Witton Hall, Staffordshire.

Wood and his successors were in all probability the minters of the various issues and patterns for the Isle of Man, 1723-1733; and though we have no documentary evidence to adduce in support of this theory, yet I think we are justified in holding this view, both on account of these pieces appearing at the same time as his other coinages and also on account of their very similar design and execution.¹

Interesting among other details preserved to us is the fact that Wood was the first to manufacture iron with pit coal, which up to this period had been refined with wood; and hence he appears to have been the pioneer in an industry whose far-reaching results have revolutionised the world's trade. It is not improbable that the steel impressions from the obverse die of the Rosa Americana twopence of 1733 were issued to show the excellence of the metal prepared by the use of coal.

The selection by Wood of Bristol as his place of mintage was no doubt owing to the fact that at this period, 1723, that city was the centre of the English brass trade and was possessed of the largest copper smelting works in the kingdom. One may recognise as brass the "beautiful compound metal" mentioned by *The London Post*.

CHAPTER II.

COINAGE FOR IRELAND.

WITHOUT giving at this point the patent for the Irish coinage, which will be found in brief in the previous section, we will proceed at once to the description and

¹ See Num. Chron., 1899, p. 35.

discussion of the various patterns and coins issued by Wood for use in Ireland. The first coin I shall describe is that known as the "Rock halfpenny," bearing the legends GEORGIUS D : G : REX— · HIBERNIÆ · 1722; this title standing quite alone in the English and Irish series, either before or since this time.

No. 1.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1722. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right, the neck of which is disproportionately long. GEORGIUS
D : G : REX

Rev.—Figure of Hibernia seated front, looking to right at a mass of rock, and holding in front of her a harp. · HIBERNIÆ · ; in exergue J722.

Wt. 120 grs.

[Pl. I., 1.]

It is very probable that the engraver of this coin was also that of the next one, as well as that of the pattern farthing and halfpenny of 1724, with the seated figure of Hibernia. I judge the next piece to appear was the pattern farthing of 1722, and after this the corresponding halfpenny, with Hibernia playing on the harp.

No. 2.—FARTHING, DATED 1722. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
D : G : REX ·

Rev.—Hibernia seated to left, holding a harp before her, on which she plays. · HIBERNIA · J722 ·

Wt. 60 grs.

[Pl. I., 8.]

No. 3.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1722. (Pattern.)

Obv.—GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX · Lau-
reate head of George I to right.

Rev.—Hibernia seated to left holding a harp before her,
on which she plays. · HIBERNIA · J722 ·

Proofs occur in copper.

Wt. 132 grs.

[Pl. I., 2.]

The next coin was no doubt the design which appeared to give the greatest satisfaction, since, with the omission of the dot which appears first on the reverse, we find it repeated in 1723 and 1724. I regard this coin only as a pattern, both on account of its rarity and also from the occurrence of a dot before, as well as after, HIBERNIA, which exists in the other patterns of 1722, but on no subsequent issue except the pattern halfpenny of 1723.

No. 4.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1722. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
DEI · GRATIA · REX ·

Rev.—Hibernia seated with harp at her side, upon which
she rests her left hand, whilst in her right she
holds a palm-branch. · HIBERNIA · J722 ·

Proofs occur in silver.

Wt. 112 grs.

[Pl. I., 2.]

Following this would appear an identical coin, but bearing the date 1723.

No. 5.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1723. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
DEI · GRATIA · REX ·

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp,
holding a palm-branch in her right hand.
· HIBERNIA · J723 ·

Proofs in copper and silver.

Wt. 123 grs.

[Pl. I., 2 *obv.*, 3 *rev.*]

The next issue of the year 1723 was a farthing, having the same obverse as the pattern farthing of the year 1722, with the contracted legend.

No. 6.—FARTHING, DATED 1723. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS .
D : G : REX .

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp,
holding a palm-branch in her right hand.
HIBERNIA . J723.

Wt. 60 grs.

[Pl. I., 8 *obv.*, 9 *rev.*]

This would no doubt be succeeded by the usual type of farthing with the obverse legend in full, and then at the same time would be issued the corresponding halfpenny.

No. 7.—FARTHING, DATED 1723.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS .
DEI . GRATIA . REX .

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp,
holding a palm-branch in her right hand.
HIBERNIA . J723 .

Proofs in silver and copper.

Wt. 64 grs.

No. 8.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1723.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS .
DEI . GRATIA . REX .

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp,
holding a palm-branch in her right hand.
HIBERNIA . J723 .

Wt. 114 grs.

[Pl. I., 2 *obv.*, 4 *rev.*]

Subsequent to this, the pattern with the star on the reverse would appear, but was apparently not accepted for currency, since we do not find this method of punctuation repeated.

No. 9.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1723. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS .
DEI . GRATIA . REX .

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp,
holding a palm-branch in her right hand.
. HIBERNIA ☆ J723 .

Wt. 109 grs. R. I. Academy.

The ordinary issue for 1724, the last year of the coinage, is exactly the same as for the year 1723.

No. 10.—FARTHING, DATED 1724.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS .
DEI . GRATIA . REX .

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp,
holding a palm-branch in her right hand.
HIBERNIA . J724.

Proofs in silver.

Wt. 55 grs.

[Pl. I., 9.]

No. 11.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1724.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS .
DEI . GRATIA . REX .

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia leaning on a harp,
holding a palm-branch in her right hand.
HIBERNIA . J724 .

Wt. 118 grs.

[Pl. I., 2 *obv.*, 4 *rev.*]

Of the year 1724 we also find several patterns as follows :—

No. 12.—FARTHING, DATED 1724. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS .
D : GRA . REX .

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia to left, leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch ; the date in exergue. HIBERNIA . 1724

Hoblyn Coll. A proof of this exists in silver.

Wt. 79 grs. [Pl. I., 10 *obv.*, 11 *rev.*]

No. 13.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1724. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Fine laureate head of George I to right, with flowing hair curling beneath the prominent truncation of neck. GEORGIUS . DEI . GRATIA . REX .

Rev.—Seated figure of Hibernia to left leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch ; date in exergue HIBERNIA . 1724

Proofs in copper and bell metal.

Wt. 130 grs. [Pl. I., 6 *obv.*, 5 *rev.*]

Then would follow the next two pieces :—

No. 14.—FARTHING, DATED 1724. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right, with flowing hair curling beneath the prominent truncation of the neck. GEORGIUS . D : GRA . REX

Rev.—Trident and sceptre crossed and united by a triple knot, around which is REGIT * UNUS * UTROQUE 1724.

Proofs in copper.

Wt. 79 grs. B. M. [Pl. I., 10.]

No. 15.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1724. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Fine laureate head of George I to right, with flowing hair curling beneath the prominent truncation of the neck. GEORGIUS . DEI . GRATIA . REX .

Rev.—A trident and sceptre joined by a knot, around which is REGIT * VNVS * VTROQVE * 1724 *

Proofs exist in copper.

Wt. 135 grs.

[Pl. I., 6.]

It seems probable that the design of the last two coins described was copied from the following medalet of Charles I, struck in silver, the engraver of which was Nicolas Briot.

No. 16.

Obv.—Shield of Britain, crowned, within the collar and badge of the Order of the Thistle all within the Garter. CAROLVS · D : G · ANG · SCO · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX · FIDEI · DEF.

Rev.—Trident and sceptre crossed and united by a triple knot around which is REGIT * VNVS * VTROQVE * ; in exergue, 1628.

Wt. 80 grs.

[Pl. I., 12.]

We find a mule composed of the reverses of the two pattern farthings of 1724.

No. 17.—FARTHING, DATED 1724. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Hibernia seated to left, leaning on a harp, holding in her right hand a palm-branch. HIBERNIA · ; in exergue, 1724.

Rev.—Trident and sceptre crossed and united by a triple knot, around which is REGIT * UNUS * UTROQUE 1724

Montagu Coll.

Wt. 76 grs.

[Pl. I., 10 rev., 11 rev.]

No. 18.—HALFPENNY? No DATE. (Pattern in Bath Metal.)

Obv.—Fine laureate head of George I to right, as on
No. 14. GEORGIUS DEI . GRA.

Rev.—Emblematic female figure seated to left, holding
in her outstretched right hand a large orb;
her left arm supports a spear and rests upon a
shield which bears the rose and shamrock.

Hoblyn and Caldecott Colls.

Wt. 76 grs.

[Pl. I., 7.]

Snelling, in his Supplement to Simon's *Coinage of Ireland*, p. 6, describes a halfpenny in which Hibernia points to a sun in the upper part of the field.

CHAPTER III.

COINAGE FOR THE AMERICAN COLONIES.

“Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.”

—Hor., *Ars P.*, 343.

THE patent for this coinage and also the letter to the Governor of New Hampshire, in reference to this series, have already been given. The obverse dies were in all probability engraved by the same artists as those for the Irish series, if indeed the dies of both are not identical. I shall now, as in the case of the Irish coinage, endeavour to describe the various pieces, as far as I am able, in the approximate order of their appearance.

These coins are of three denominations, viz., twopenny pieces, pence, and halfpence, although in size they would correspond at this period, in England, to coins of but half these values.

As in the previous section we traced a connection between the design of one of the Irish coins to a piece

of Charles I, so now I think we may in like manner observe the prototype of the Rosa Americana issue.

It appears to me that we have, in the following pattern piece of silver of the reign of Elizabeth, the original from whence is derived the design for the American coinage.

No. 1.—PENNY, WITHOUT DATE. (Pattern.)

Obv.—A crowned rose within a circle, around which
∴ ROSA ∙ SINE ∙ SPINA ∴.

Rev.—A shield bearing the cross of St. George m.m.
cross; around, PRO ∙ LEGE ∙ REGE ∙
ET ∙ GREGE.

Wt. 26 grs.

[Pl. I., 13.]

In the first issue for America we find the rose alone, in the second the rose and crown, whilst in the coin described under No. 19 we have the rose only and the legend ROSA : SINE : SPINA in full. In all probability the first piece struck was a twopenny piece without date and without a label, and on account of its great rarity it may be a pattern.

No. 2.—TWO PENCE, WITHOUT DATE. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIVS ∙
D ∙ G ∙ MAG ∙ BRI ∙ FRA ∙ ET ∙ HIB ∙
REX.

Rev.—Large seeded rose, above which is ∙ ROSA ∙
AMERICANA ∙ and beneath ∙ UTILE ∙
DULCI ∙.

Wt. 121 grs.

[Pl. II., 1.]

This coin was followed by a piece almost identical, but of rather better execution, in which the words UTILE
DULCI are on a label.

No. 3.—TWO PENCE, WITHOUT DATE.

Obv.—Laureate bust of George I to right. GEORGIVS ·
D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET · HIB ·
REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose, above which is ROSA · AMERI-
CANA, and beneath UTILE · DULCI on a
label.

Wt. 243 grs. [Pl. II., 2 *obv.*, 3 *rev.*]

Then would be issued a penny bearing the date 1722 which in the use of V in place of U, both on the obverse and reverse, appears to me to have been struck before the other pence of the same date.

No. 4.—PENNY, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIVS ·
DEI · GRATIA · REX ·

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERI-
CANA * VTILE · DVLCI · J722 *

Wt. 115 grs. [Pl. I., 2 *obv.*]
[Pl. II., 5 *rev.*]

Following the last piece, and exactly similar as regards the reverse, we find :

No. 5.—PENNY, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIVS ·
DEI · GRATIA · REX ·

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERI-
CANA * VTILE · DVLCI · J722 *

Wt. 116 grs. [Pl. I., 2 *obv.*]
[Pl. II., 5 *rev.*]

Together with a halfpenny, though the reverse reading is somewhat contracted.

No. 6.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
DEI · GRATIA · REX ·

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERI :
VTILE · DVLCI · J722.

Wt. 64 grs.

[Pl. II., 7.]

A very similar coin, a halfpenny, exists, with the legends of both obverse and reverse contracted.

No. 7.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS
D · G : REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERI :
UTILE · DULCI · J722.

Wt. 62 grs.

[Pl. II., 6.]

The succeeding five coins would probably appear in the order in which they are placed here.

No. 8.—TWO PENCE, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET : HIB :
REX ·

Rev.—Seeded rose, above which is · ROSA · AMERI-
CANA · J722 · ; and beneath UTILE ·
DULCI · on a label.

Wt. 213 grs.

[Pl. II., 3 *obv.*, 2 *rev.*]

No. 9.—PENNY, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
DEI · GRATIA · REX ·

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERICANA * UTILE · DULCI · J722 *

Wt. 122 grs.

[Pl. I., 2 *obv.*]

[Pl. II., 4 *rev.*]

No. 10.—PENNY, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERICANA · UTILE · DULCI · J722 *

Wt. 127 grs.

[Pl. I., 2 *obv.*]

[Pl. II., 4 *rev.*]

No. 11.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERICANA · UTILE · DULCI · J722 *

Wt. 70 grs.

[Pl. II., 9 *obv.*, 8 *rev.*]

No. 12.—PENNY, DATED 1722.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS · DEI · GRATIA · REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERICANA · UTILE · DULCI · J722 ·

Wt. 125 grs.

[Pl. I., 2 *obv.*]

[Pl. II., 4 *rev.*]

In the following year, 1723, it was evidently the intention to repeat the design of 1722, merely changing the date. Of this evidence is shown in the pattern halfpenny next described.

No. 13.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1723. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
DEI · GRATIA · REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose, around which is ROSA · AMERI-
CANA * UTILE · DULCI · J723 *

Wt. 62 grs.

[Pl. II., 9 *obv.*, 8 *rev.*]

This issue was evidently abandoned in favour of the more handsome coins bearing the rose surmounted by a crown. The issue consists of pieces of three denominations, viz., twopence, penny, and halfpenny.

No. 14.—TWOPEACE, DATED 1723.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
D : G : MAG : BRI : FRA : ET · HIB ·
REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose beneath a crown, above which is
ROSA · AMERICANA · J723; below on a
label, UTILE · DULCI.

Wt. 240 grs.

No. 15.—PENNY, DATED 1723.

Obv.—Head of George I to right. GEORGIUS · DEI ·
GRATIA · REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose beneath a crown, above which is
ROSA · AMERICANA · J723; below on a
label, UTILE · DULCI.

Wt. 128 grs.

No. 16.—HALFPENNY, DATED 1723.

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS ·
DEI · GRATIA · REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose beneath a crown, above which is
ROSA · AMERICANA · J723; below, on a
label, UTILE · DULCI.

Wt. 66 grs.

[Pl. II., 9.]

No. 17.—TWO PENCE, DATED 1724. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Fine laureate bust of George I to right, with hair curling beneath the truncation. GEORGIUS .
D : G . MA . B . FRA . ET . HIB .
REX .

Rev.—Seeded rose beneath a crown, above which is
ROSA . AMERICANA . J724; below, on a
label, UTILE . DULCI .

Wt. 200 grs.

[Pl. II., 10.]

Of this magnificent specimen of medallic art only three examples are known, the one from which this description is taken being in the collection of Mr. J. B. Caldecott.

Of the year 1724 a penny exists very similar to that of 1723.

No. 18.—PENNY, DATED 1724. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George I to right. GEORGIUS .
DEI . GRATIA . REX.

Rev.—Seeded rose beneath a crown; above, ROSA .
AMERICANA : J724; beneath, on a label,
UTILE . DULCI .

Wt. 120 grs.

Probably after this was struck a coin which, notwithstanding the fact that it is undated, must be of the same year, since the obverse is the same as that of the Irish pattern halfpenny of the same date.

No. 19.—PENNY, UNDATED (1724? Pattern.)

Obv.—Fine laureate bust of George I to right, with flowing hair curling beneath the prominent truncation of the neck. GEORGIUS . DEI .
GRATIA . REX

Rev.—A leafy sprig, bearing three roses and two rose buds, springing from the ground. ROSA : SINE : SPINA.

Wt. 120 grs.



Of this coin only three specimens are known.

William Wood died in 1730, as previously mentioned, and hence the coin described below was in all probability issued by his successors to the patent for the coinage of money for the American colonies. There remain to us only three examples of this coin.

No. 20.—TWO PENCE, DATED 1733. (Pattern.)

Obv.—Laureate head of George II to left. GEORGIVS . II . D . G . REX.

Rev.—A branch bearing a full-blown rose, a bud, and seven leaves, all beneath a crown; above which is ROSA . AMERICANA . J733; and beneath, on a label, UTILE . DULCI.

Wt. 290 grs. B. M.

[PL. II., 11.]

There exist some six examples of the obverse of this coin struck in steel, one being in the author's cabinet; and on the reverse of another is engraved Hawkins, Janry. 1737.

PHILIP NELSON.

III.

COINAGE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(See Plate III.)

In the arrangement of the various Indian coins, issued during the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries, great difficulties present themselves in distinguishing between—

- (1.) The Moghul issues struck in the name of the Emperor.
- (2.) The local coinages of the Petty States which attained to semi-independence during the decay of the Moghul Empire; which coins frequently bear the name of the Emperor, Shah-'Alam, although struck after his death, and,
- (3.) The purely imitative issues of the East India Company, designedly struck to pass as though they formed part of the Moghul coinage.

There can be little doubt that the system of classification adopted by Prof. Stanley Lane-Poole in his catalogue of the coins of the Moghul Emperors, in placing the purely imitative section of the East India Company's coinage in the same series with the Moghul issues, is the true arrangement, and one that must commend itself to all who are collectors of Mohammedan coins. In the case, however, of the arrangement of a collection of the various coinages issued under British rule—and such

collections are becoming more and more frequent now that an ever-increasing interest is manifested in all that belongs to the British Empire—it becomes necessary to adopt some line of demarcation between the purely native issues of Indian princes, and such of the coinage as may be truly said to fall within the control of the East India Company.

This paper claims to deal with this period of overlapping, and to show the means of distinguishing between the East India Company's imitations, and the issues of the Moghuls and the Native Princes. For this reason no reference is made to the coins issued in India with European legends or devices, or to the Imperial currency instituted by the Company in 1835.

The problem of determining when the native coinage ends and the Company's begins is still beset with difficulties, but the solution has been greatly facilitated by Prof. Stanley Lane-Poole's masterly summary of the History of the coinage of the Moghuls, which accompanies his catalogue of the coins published in 1892. Mr. Edgar Thurston has also issued a series of notes on the Records of the Calcutta and Madras Mints, which further help to clear up obscure points in the history of the coinage of the East India Company.

Prof. Stanley Lane-Poole has pointed out that the coinage may be seen to fall within three periods:—

- (1.) *The period of Prohibition*, when the Company had to send its bullion to be coined at the Moghul Mints.
- (2.) *The period of Concession*, when the Company obtained limited rights of coining:—

In Bengal, authorised and executed in 1758 (1171 A.H.).

In Bombay, authorised in 1716 (1129 A.H.), executed in 1719 (1131 A.H.).

In Madras, authorised in 1742 (1154 A.H.), executed about 1758 (1172 A.H.).

(3.) *The period of Administration*, when the Company practically took over the administration and the charge of the Coinage of the Moghul Empire, 1765 (1178 A.H.).

All coins struck under the first of these three periods must clearly be classified under the Moghul issues.

Under the second period the classification is simplified by the fact of there being only three mints to be considered.

In Bengal—*Calcutta*.—The name of this place does not appear as a mint under the Moghul series; the first coin issued bears the Hijrah date 1171 (1757 A.D.)—the year the Company were authorised to establish a mint: all coins with the name of this mint must therefore belong to the Company.

In Bombay.—The earliest coins bearing the name *Mumbai* appear to have been issued in the Hijrah year 1131 (1719 A.D.), the first year of the reign of Muhammad Shah; all coins, therefore, giving the name of this mint can safely be attributed to the Company.

In Madras.—Authority was given both to the British at Madras and to the French at Pondicherry to copy the *Arkat* rupee. There is, however, little difficulty in distinguishing between the three issues; coins of the city of Arkat itself have no distinguishing mark. The French coins were nearly all struck in the name of Shah-'Alam, with varying regnal years, and have a crescent as the mint mark.

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Prof.

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Janry. of Concession, when the Company obtained rights of coining:—

issued and executed in 1758 (1171)

The British coins all bear the name of the Emperor 'Alamgir II., and the sixth year of his reign, with the addition of the "trisul" as a mint mark. All coins, therefore, giving the name of this mint, with the regnal year 7 and the mint mark ♡, belong to the Company.

Under the third period, which commences with the administration of the Company in Bengal 1765 (1178 A.H.), when the rule of the Emperor Shah-'Alam was purely nominal, it is difficult to make any distinction between :

- (1.) The coins issued in his name by provincial governors.
- (2.) Those issued at mints under native control under the authority of the Company.
- (3.) Coins struck at the Company's own mints.

The only method is to draw a hard-and-fast line at the date when the Company took over the administration of the district in which the mint was situated, and to attribute all coins after such date to the Company. Fortunately the difficulty is limited to coins issued in Bengal bearing the mint names Murshidabad and Benares; and even with these mints it is possible to give some distinguishing characteristics, which enable a distinction to be drawn between the Company's and the Moghul issues.

This will be more fully explained under the subsections referring to these mints.

In Bombay, the English, who had virtually owned the City of Surat since 1759, took the decided step of abolishing the authority of the native Nawab in 1800 (1215 A.H.), the 43rd year of the nominal reign of Shah-'Alam. All coins of *Surat* bearing an earlier Hijrah

date than 1215, or a regnal date prior to 43, must be considered as forming part of the Moghul coinage. The Company's coins nearly all have the regnal date 46, the fabric and style of the early coins being entirely native.

In Madras, the coinage continued to be issued in native style until 1815, when a milled coinage, also bearing the mint name Arkat, was introduced. There are also a few silver coins bearing the mint name Masulipatan.

To return to the Bengal coinage :

Calcutta.—The Calcutta mint records given by Mr. Edgar Thurston note the establishment of a mint at this place in 1758 (1171 A.H.). This date is confirmed by coin No. 1. With the exception of the few recorded coins of the first period, this mint appears to have been subsequently employed exclusively in striking coins for the province of Bengal, under the various mint names of Murshidabad, Benares, and Ferrukhabad ; and for Madras under the name of Arkat ; hence the name of Calcutta disappears after a few years from the Company's issues.

Murshidabad.—This place had been a Moghul mint for many years when in 1765 (1178 A.H.), in the fifth regnal year of Shah-'Alam, the British took over the administration of the district, together with the right of coinage. There is little doubt but that the Nawab of Bengal continued to strike coins at his own mint at Murshidabad side by side with the Company's coins, which bore the same mint name, but were probably struck at Calcutta. The result is that for some years coins of native fabric appear side by side with others struck in a collar in European style, all bearing the mint name Murshidabad.

In the native style it is impossible to say whether the coins were actually struck by the Nawab or by the

Company, but, as the Province was then under the control of the East India Company, it seems reasonable to place all the coins with the mint Murshidabad after the Hijrah date 1177, or with a higher regnal year than six of the nominal reign of Shah-'Alam, under the British series. All with earlier dates would naturally fall to the Moghul issues.

Fortunately there is a further distinction than that of date to be drawn between the late Moghul issues, and the continuation of the same series under the Company's rule; it is in the fact that for the first time the latter bear on the reverse the "cinquefoil"—a mint mark apparently instituted at Calcutta and adopted at Murshidabad when the Company took over the mint with the administration of the district. The presence, therefore, of this mint mark on a coin bearing the Murshidabad mint name, can be taken as evidence that the coin should be classed in the British series.

Benares.—Mr. Edgar Thurston, in his historical sketch of this mint, established in the reign of Muhammad Shah (1734), records that in 1776 (1191 A.H.), in the 17th year of Shah-'Alam, the mint was placed by the East India Company in the hands of Chait-Singh, who engaged to continue the die of the 17th regnal year to avoid confusion. "All rupees, therefore," the record states, "coined in the Benares mint, and current in the district, may be classed as Sanwat and Sikka, the former coined under the Moghul princes and the latter since the 17th year of the reign of Shah-'Alam, when the mint was ceded to the Company by the Vizier, and by them transferred to Chait-Singh." This clearly gives the date 1776 (1191 A.H.) when the Company's issue may be said to commence, and shows that the long series bearing

the nominal regnal year 17, as well as the real regnal year, were issued under British control (See Nos. 101 to 112).

From the time the Company took over the administration of the district (1776) until 1811, when the new coinage with a milled edge was instituted, there were two distinct types of native style, bearing the mint name of Benares, struck concurrently; the former begin the continuation of the existing issue of the Moghuls, at the time the mint was taken over, with mint marks, Flag and Fish, but having as a distinction the fixed regnal date 26; the latter being the issue with the nominal regnal date 17 before referred to, and having a four-petalled flower and an improved form of fish as the distinguishing mint marks. Hence it will be seen that it is comparatively easy to make a division between the Moghul and Company's coinage at this period, as follows:—

- (1.) Moghul, Hijrah dates *before* 1191, *varying* regnal years.
- (2.) Company's issue, in continuation of this series Hijrah, dates *after* 1190, and always a *fixed* regnal year 26, Flag and Fish mint marks.
- (3.) Company's new type, having, in addition to Hijrah dates and regnal years, a *fixed* regnal date 17. Four-petalled flower and improved fish as mint marks.

When the Company decided in 1811 to issue the new coinage with the milled edge, this last type was selected as the one to be copied, so that the new coin (European style) is an exact reproduction of the native style coin, even to the perpetuation of the double regnal years $\frac{17}{49}$.

Ferrukhabad.—This mint was also established in the reign of Muhammad Shah. The records published by Mr. Edgar Thurston show that the Company commenced to strike coins here in 1803 (1218), and that they adopted the 45th regnal year of the nominal reign of Shah-'Alam as the standard date for their coinage. Consequently all native style coins before the 45th regnal year should be classed amongst the Moghul issue. In 1805 a milled coinage was recommended, but does not appear to have been fully adopted until 1807.

The subsequent issues of the East India Company can easily be distinguished from the Moghul coinages, as the Company adopted the European style of collar, ring, or milled edges.

The *Bengal* coins continued to bear the mint names of Murshidabad, Ferrukhabad and Benares.

The *Bombay* coins that of Surat.

The *Madras* coins that of Arkat.

J. M. C. JOHNSTON.

N.B.—In the following list coins marked B, followed by a number, are represented in the British Museum Catalogue of Coins of the Moghul Emperors. Coins marked M are represented in my own collection.

COINS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

CALCUTTA.

(a) *In the name of 'Alamgir II.*
Issue of Regnal years 4 and 5. A.H. 1171 (1759).

1	R	Rupee 1171	<p style="text-align: center;">عالم گیر</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ر پادشاہ غاز</p> <p style="text-align: center;">۱ ۱ < ۱</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سکہ مبار</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">مانوس</p> <p style="text-align: center;">میمنت</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سنہ جلوس</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ب</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ضر کلکتہ</p> <p style="text-align: center;">[Pl. III.]</p>	M
2	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1171	Same: showing part only of the inscription.	Same: showing part only of the inscription. Regnal year ۴	
3	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	"	"	M
4	"	2 Annas	"	"	M
5	"	Anna	"	"	M

The distinguishing mark of this issue is on the
obverse m.m. sun: on the reverse m.m. cinquefoil.

(b) *In the name of Shah-'Alam.*
Issue of Regnal year 4. A.H. 1176 (1763).

6	"	Rupee 1176	<p style="text-align: center;">الہ حامی دین محمد</p> <p style="text-align: center;">شہا</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سایہ فضل شاہ عالم پد</p> <p style="text-align: center;">سکہ</p> <p style="text-align: center;">۱ ۱ < ۶</p> <p style="text-align: center;">زد بر هفت کشور</p>	Same as No. 1, but regnal year ۴	
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Mint marks as in previous issue.

CALCUTTA (*continued*).

(c) *Copper. In the name of Shah-'Alam.*
A.H. 1188 (1774)

7	Æ	4 Pais 1188	ش < < < ا عالم پادشاه غاز	میمنت سنه ضرب کلکته	B 150
8	"	4 Pais 1188	Same: but ^^	"	B 152
9	"	2 Pais 1188	Same: but ^ ^	Same: but پ د ا د (?)	B 153

MURSHIDABAD.

In the name of Shah-'Alam.
(a) *Native style: m.m. sun and cinquefoil.*

10	A'	Mohr 1181	شاه عالم پادشاه غاز سکه مبار	مانوس میمنت سنه جلوس ضرب مرشد آباد	B 1185
11	Æ	Rupee 1179	Regnal year 7 محمد اله حامی دین شاه سایه فضل شاه عالم پاد سکه < زد بر هفت کشور	Same: but < Same.	M M
12	"	Rupee 1180	Regnal year 7	Same: but ^ .	Same.
13	"	Rupee 1180	Regnal year 8	Same.	Same: but ^ B 1188

MURSHIDABAD (*continued*)

14	R	2 Annas	Regnal year 9	Part only of above; no Hijrah date.	Part only of above, with 9	B 1196
15	"	Rupee 1184	Regnal year 11	Same as No. 11; but 11 18	Same as No. 11; but 11	B 1189
16	"	Rupee 1186	Regnal year 12	Same: but 11 18	Same; but 18	B 1190
16A	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " "	Same: part only visible; no Hijrah date	Same: part only visible.	M
17	"	Anna	Regnal year 15	Same: part only visible, no Hijrah date.	Same; but 18 part only visible.	B 1197
18	"	Rupee 1192	Regnal year 19	Same as No. 11; but 11 18	Same as No. 11; but 18 [Pl. III.]	M
18A	"	Rupee	" " "	Same; but no Hijrah date.	Same.	B 1193
19	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " "	Same.	Same. [Pl. III.]	M
20	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " "	Same; part only visible.	Same; part only visible. [Pl. III.]	M
21	"	2 Annas	" " "	"	[Pl. III.]	B 1198A
22	"	Anna	" " "	"	Same; part only visible. [Pl. III.]	B 1198
23	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Regnal year 25	Same as No. 18A.	Same as No. 18; but 18	B 1194
24	"	Rupee	Regnal year 28	" " " "	Same: but 18	B 1195

(b) *European style: m.m. cinquefoil unless stated.*
Early issues between 1785 and 1793.

(I) *Struck in a collar; no milling; dotted rims.*

25	A/	$\frac{1}{4}$ Mohr 1182	Regnal year 10	Same as No. 11; but date 11 18	Same as No. 11; but 18	B 1
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MURSHIDABAD (*continued*).

26	A	$\frac{1}{4}$ Mohr 1182	Regnal year 10	Same as No. 11; but date 1182	Same as No. 11; but 1.	B 2
27	"	$\frac{1}{8}$ Mohr 1183	" " "	1183 شاه عالم سکه پادشاه	1. سنه ضرب مرشدآباد No cinquefoil.	B 3
28	"	$\frac{1}{16}$ Mohr 1183	" " "	"	" "	B 4
29	R	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1182	" " "	Obv. and rev. same as No. 25.	[PL. III.]	M
30	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee 1182	" " "	Obv. and rev. same as No. 26.		B 5
31	"	2 Annas 1182	" " "	Obv. and rev. same as No. 27; but 1182		B 6
32	"	2 Annas 1183	" " "	Obv. and rev. same as No. 27.	[PL. III.]	M
33	"	Anna 1182	" " "	Obv. and rev. same as No. 28; but 1182		B 6
34	"	Anna 1183	" " "	Obv. and rev. same as No. 28.		M
35	A	Mohr 1184	Regnal year 11	Same as No. 25; but date 1182	Same as No. 25; but 11	B 8
36	R	Rupee 1183	" " "	Same; but 1182	"	B 9
37	"	Rupee 1182	" " "	Same; but 1182	"	B 10
38	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1184	" " "	"	"	B 11
39	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	" " "	Same; no Hijrah date.	"	B 12
40	"	2 Annas	" " "	Same; part only visible.	Same; part only visible	B 13
41	"	Anna	" " "	"	"	B 14

MURSHIDABAD (*continued*).

42	A/	Mohr 1185	Regnal year 12	Same as No 25; but date 1185	Same as No. 25, but 12	B 15
43	R	Rupee 1185	Regnal year 13	"	Same, but 12 [Pl. III.]	B 16
44	A/	Mohr 1187	Regnal year 15	Same; but 1187	Same; but 12	B 17
45	"	Mohr 1196	Regnal year 19	Same; but 1196	Same, but 19	B 18
46	"	Mohr 1197	" " "	Same; but 1197	"	B 19
47	"	Mohr 1198	" " "	Same; but 1198	"	B 20
47A	"	Mohr 1199	" " "	Same; but 1199	"	M
48	"	Mohr 1201	" " "	Same; but 1199	"	B 21
49	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Mohr 1202	" " "	Same; but 1202	"	B 22
50	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Mohr 1202	" " "	Same as No. 27; but 1202 No cinquefoil.	Same as No. 27; but 19	B 23
51	"	$\frac{1}{8}$ Mohr 1202	" " "	"	"	B 25
52	"	$\frac{1}{8}$ Mohr 1203	" " "	Same; but 1203	"	B 24
53	"	$\frac{1}{8}$ Mohr 1203	" " "	"	"	B 26

(II) *Struck in a collar, with milled rims or milled edges.*

54	R	Rupee 1198	Regnal year 26	Same as No. 25; but 1198	Same as No. 25; but 26	B 28
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Round the edge of this coin :

UNITED * EAST * INDIA * COMPANY * 1784 *

MURSHIDABAD (*continued*)

Issue of the New 19-San Sikkah, 1818-1832.
Straight milling, m.m. cinquefoil

64	A/	Mohr	Same as No. 61.	
65	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Mohr	Same as No. 62.	
66	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Mohr	Same as No. 63.	B 43
67	R	Rupee	Same as No. 61.	B 44
68	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Same as No. 62.	B 45
69	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	Same as No. 63.	M
70	"	Rupee	Like No. 67, but smaller flan; may be distinguished by the coarser milling, and by a small five-pointed star below Δ \cup on the obverse.	M
71	R	Rupee	Like No. 67, but smaller flan and a dotted rim round the edges.	M
72	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Like No. 68, but smaller flan and serrated rim, a small crescent on upper part of reverse.	M
73	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	Like No. 69, but smaller flan and serrated rim, a small crescent on the obverse.	M
Nos. 67-69 form the common issue for this period (1818-1832).				

Latest issue of the 19-San Sikkah, 1832-1835.
Plain edge and serrated rim; m.m. cinquefoil

74	"	Rupee	Same as No. 61.	B 47
75	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Same as No. 62.	B 49
76	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	Same as No. 63. The Rupee has a small five-pointed star on the obverse below Δ \cup The Half-Rupee has a small crescent on the upper part of the reverse.	M

FARRUKHABAD.

In the name of Shah-' Alam
Issue of the old 45-San Sikkah, 1803-1819
Oblique milling; m.m. cinquefoil.

77	R	Rupee	Obverse same as No. 61.	Reverse. مانوس میمنت ۳۵ جلوس سنه ضرب فرخ اباد	B 50
78	"	Rupee	A variety of the preceding, with a broader margin and with the oblique milling in the opposite direction. The half and quarter rupees of this issue, although authorized, do not appear to have been prepared.		M

Issue of the new 45-San Sikkah, 1819-1833.
Straight milling; m.m. cinquefoil.

79	"	Rupee	Same as No. 77; small ^ under	ز	B 51
80	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " " " " " " "	"	M
81	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	۱۳.۴	۳۵ شا below شا عالم ضرب سکه پادشا	M
82	"	Rupee	Like No. 79, but differs in having a broader margin, in the absence of the ^ under ز; also having a small crescent on the reverse.		M

Latest issue of the 45-San Sikkah, 1833-1835.
Plain edge and plain rim; m.m. cinquefoil.

83	"	Rupee	Same as No. 77.	B 52
84	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Same as No. 77; small crescent on the reverse.	B 53

FARRUKHABAD (*continued*).

85	At	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	Same as No. 81; small crescent on the obverse.	B 54
86	"	Rupee	Like No. 77, but broader margin, and with a small crescent on the reverse.	M

BENARES.

(a) *Native style, with regnal year 26; m.m. flag and fish.*

87	At	Rupee 1204	Regnal year 26	پاد الہ محمد حامی دیز شاہ فضل عالم ۱۲۰۴ جلوس سنہ مانوس ب ضر بنارس		
88	"	Rupee 1207	Regnal year 26	Same; but ۱۲۰۷	Same	M
88A	"	Rupee 1212	" " "	" " ۱۲۱۲	"	B 57
89	A/	Mohr 1214	" " "	" " ۱۲۱۴	"	B 55
89A	At	Rupee 1214	" " "	" " ۱۲۱۴	"	M
90	"	Rupee 1215	" " "	" " ۱۲۱۵	"	B 58
90A	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1215	" " "	" " ۱۲۱۵	"	M
91	"	Rupee 1216	" " "	" " ۱۲۱۶	[Pl. III.]	M
91A	"	Rupee 1219	" " "	" " ۱۲۱۹	Same	M
92	"	Rupee 1221	" " "	" " ۱۲۲۱	"	B 59

BENARES (*continued*).

93	R	Rupee 1222	Regnal year 26	Same; but 1 2 2 2	Same.	B 60
94	"	Rupee 1226	" " "	" " 1 2 2 6	"	B 61
95	"	Rupee 1227	" " "	" " 1 2 2 7	"	B 62
96	"	Rupee 1229	" " "	" " 1 2 2 9	"	B 63
97	"	Rupee 1231	" " "	" " 1 2 3 1	"	B 64
97A	"	Rupee 1232	" " "	" " 1 2 3 2	"	M
98	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee 1232	" " "	" " 1 2 3 2	"	M
99	"	Rupee 1233	" " "	" " 1 2 3 3	"	B 65
100	A	Mohr 1235	" " "	" " 1 2 3 5	"	B 56

(b) *Native style, with fixed regnal year 17: m.m. four-petaled flower and fish.*

101	R	Rupee 1196	Regnal year $\frac{17}{34}$	Same as No. 87; Hij- rah date 1 1 9 6	Same as No. 87, but $\frac{1}{15}$ < [Pl. III.]	M
102	"	Rupee 1203	" " $\frac{17}{35}$	Same, but 1 2 0 3	Same, but $\frac{1}{15}$ <	B 1143
103	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee [1203]	" " "	Same, but no Hijrah date.	" " "	B 1144
104	"	Rupee 1207	" " $\frac{17}{35}$	Same, but 1 2 0 7	" " $\frac{1}{15}$ <	B 1145
105	A	Mohr 1209	" " $\frac{17}{37}$	" " 1 2 0 9	" " $\frac{1}{15}$ <	B 1142
105A	R	Rupee 1212	" " $\frac{17}{38}$	" " 1 2 1 2	" " $\frac{1}{15}$ <	M
106	"	Rupee 121[3]	" " $\frac{17}{39}$	" " 1 2 1 [" " $\frac{1}{15}$ <	B 1147

BENARES (continued).

107	AR	Rupee 1217	Regnal year $\frac{17}{18}$	Same; but 1217	Same, but $\frac{1}{10}$ a	B 1148
108	"	Rupee 1222	" " $\frac{17}{18}$	" " 1222	" " $\frac{1}{10}$ a	B 1150
109	"	Rupee 1224	" " "	" " 1222	" " "	B 1151
110	"	Rupee 1225	" " "	" " 1225	" " "	M
111	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1225	" " "	" " "	" " "	B 1152
112	"	Rupee 1229	" " "	" " 1229	" " "	M

(c) *European style; oblique milling; m.m. as in last issue.*

113	AR	Rupee 1229	Regnal year $\frac{17}{18}$	Same as No. 112.		B 66
114	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1229	" " "	Same, without dia- critical points.	[PL III.]	M
115	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee 1229	" " "	1229 شاه عالم سکه بادشاه	1229 سنه صرب بنارس [PL III.]	M

The fact of Nos. 114 and 115 being without dia-
critical points would appear to show they are proofs.
It is doubtful if the half and quarter Rupee were
issued for circulation.

(d) *European style. Copper coins.*

116	AE	2 Pais 1221	عالم شاه فلوس 1221	صرب ۲۳۸ بنارس	B 181
117	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Pai 1221	" "	"	B 183

. BENARES (*continued*).

118	Æ	2 Pais 1228	عالم شاه ۲ فلوس ۱۲۲۸	۱۴۹ سنه ضرب بنارس ۲	B 182
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BENGAL PROVINCE (COPPER).

In name of Shah-'Alam. No mint.

119	Æ	2 Pais 1195	Regnal year 22	شاه عالم شاه پاد ۱۱۹۵ 5 stars.	س جلو ۲۲ سنه 2 stars.	B 154
120	"	Pai 1195	" " "	"	"	B 157
121	"	Pai 1195	" " "	2 stars only.	"	B 159
122	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Pai 1195	" " "	5 stars.	"	B 160
123	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Pai 1195	" " "	"	"	B 162
124	"	Pai	Regnal year 37	شاه عالم پاد شاه جلوس ۳۷	سکه ۲ يك پای Nagari inscription.	B 164
125	"	2 Pais	" " "	Same, without the trisol.	سکه دو پای Nagari inscription.	B 169

BENGAL PROVINCE (COPPER) (*continued*).

126	Æ	$\frac{1}{2}$ Pai	Regnal year 37	Same as No. 124, without the trisul.	سکه ادپای Nagari inscription.	B 170
127	"	Pai	" " "	"	Bengali inscription يك پای سکه Nagari inscription.	B 171
128	"	Pai	" " "	"	(milled rim).	B 174
129	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Pai	" " "	"	Same; but نیم پای سکه	B 175
130	"	Pai	Regnal year 45	Same as No. 124; but ۴۵		B 176
131	"	Pai	Regnal year 45	Same; but with star instead of trisul on the obverse.		B 178
132	"	Pai	" " "	Same as No. 127; but ۴۵		B 180

BOMBAY (MUNBAI).

(a) *In the name of the Shah (Muhammad).**Native style; m.m. S on obverse.*

133	AR	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee 1131	Regnal year 1	غازی شاه سکه ۱۱۳۱ مبارک	مانوس میمنت احد سنه جلوس ضرب منبلی	B 68
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BOMBAY (MUNBAI) (*continued*).

134	R	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Regnal year 3	Same as No. 133; no Hijrah date.	Same as No. 133; but regnal year 3 [Pl. III.]	M
135	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Regnal year 9	"	Same; but 1	M
136	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1143	Regnal year 1[3]	Same; but 1143	Same; but 1	B 71

(b) *In the name of Muhammad Shah. Native style.*

137	"	Rupee 11[37]	Regnal year 7	محمد شاه پادشاه غاز سکه مبار	Same as No. 133; but regnal year 7	B 72
138	"	Rupee 1148	Regnal year 18	Same; but 1148	Same; but 18	B 73

(c) *In the name of Shah-'Alam.*(I) *Native style, regnal year 9.*

139	A	Mohr 118[2]	Regnal year 9	118[عالم] پادشاه غاز سکه مبار	Same as No. 133; but regnal year 9	B 75
140	R	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1188	" " "	Same; but 1188	"	B 77
141	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " "	Same; no Hijrah date.	"	

BOMBAY (MUNBAI) (*continued*).(II) *Struck in a collar; m.m. inverted crescent over پاد on obverse.**Star on س on reverse.*

142	AR	Rupee*	Regnal year 1	عا [لم] ع پادشاه غا سکه ۹۱۹	میمنت سنه جلوس ب منبی	B 79
The imperfection in the letters on these Rupces is very marked; the engraver must have been quite ignorant of the Persian characters. The issue appears to be a first attempt to strike coins for Bombay in European style.						

SURAT.

In the name of Shah-'Alam.†(a) *Native style; issue of 1802; m.m. crowned head and star.*

143	AV	Panchia (5 Rupees)	Only a small portion of inscription showing:			
			Obv.	Rev.		
			شاه غا	جلوس		
				
			On reverse: 1802; incuse on an oval label.			B 81

(b) *Native style; issue of 1825; 46 san; m.m. crown and star.*

144	AV	Mohr	شاه عالم پادشاه غاز سکه مبار	مانوس میمنت سنه ۱۲۶ جلوس	B 82
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* The records of the Calcutta mint, published by Mr. Thurston, do not confirm the statement in Atkin's Coins of British Possessions, 1839, that these rupees were struck at Calcutta for Bombay in 1800.

† The † Rupee, attributed to Munbai-Surat in the Brit. Mus. Cat. (No. 80), is a native coin of Mysore, and does not therefore form part of the East India Company's series.

SURAT (*continued*).

145	A/	Panchia (5 Rupees)	Same as No. 144.; only partly legible.	B 84
146	R	Rupee	Same as No. 144, with, in addition on the reverse, 1825, incuse on raised label.	B 85
147	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Same; only partly legible.	B 86
148	"	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	" " " "	

(c) *Native style; 46 San issues; m.m. star.*(I) *With further m.m. * over δ in centre of obverse.*

149	A/	Mohr	Same as No. 144.	
150	"	Panchia	Same as No. 144.; only partly legible.	
151	"	Rupee	" " " " " " "	M
152	R	Rupee	Same as No. 149.	M
153	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " " "	M
154	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Same as No. 149, only partly legible.	M
155	"	2 Annas	" " " " " " "	M
156	"	Anna	" " " " " " "	

[Pl. III.]

[Pl. III.]

(II) *With further m.m. \therefore instead of **

157	A/	Mohr	Same as No. 149.	B 87
158	"	Panchia	" " " 150.	B 90
159	"	Rupee	" " " 151.	B 92
160	R	Rupee	" " " 152.	B 94
161	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " " 153.	M
162	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " " 154.	
163	"	2 Annas	" " " 155.	
164	"	Anna	" " " 156.	M

[Pl. III.]

[Pl. III.]

SURAT (continued).

(d) *European style, 46 San issues, 1215 A.H.*(I) *Straight milling: line round rim: m m star.*

165	A/	Mohr*	۱۲۱۵ <u>شاه عالم</u> <u>پادشاه غاز</u> سکه مبار	مانوس میمنت سنه جلوس ضرب سورت	
166	R	Rupee*	„	„	B 96

(II) *Plain edge, serrated rim: m.m. obv. H rev star.*

167	A/	Mohr	Same as No. 165.		
168	R	Rupee	„ „ „ 166.		B 98
169	„	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	„ „ „ „		B 99
170	„	$\frac{1}{4}$ Rupee	„ „ „ „		B 100

ARKAT (MADRAS).

In the name of 'Alamgir II.(a) *Native style; regnal year 6; m.m. trisul Y.*

171	R	Rupee	<u>عزیزالدین عالم کیر</u> <u>پادشاه غاز</u> سکه مبار (Portions only of the above appear.)	مانوس میمنت سنه جلوس ضرب ارکات	B 101
172	„	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	„	[PL. III.]	M

* Although there is a reference to † and ‡ Mohrs and to † and ‡ Rupees of this issue in Atkin's Coins of British Possessions, I doubt if such coins exist. The Calcutta mint records show that in 1821 the divisions of the Bombay Mohr (180 grs.) were the Panchia (60 grs.) and the gold Rupee (12 grs.).

ARKAT (MADRAS) (*continued*).

173	At	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Same as No. 171.		B 108
174	"	2 Annas	"	Part only legible	M
175	"	Anna	"	[Pl. III.] Part only legible.	M

(b) *European style; regnal year 6.*(I) *Madras issue of 1811; oblique milling; m.m. trisul.*

176	"	Double Rupee	محمد ۱۱۷۲ عزیز الدین عالم کیر <hr/> پادشاه غاز <hr/> سکه مبار	ما یوس میمنت سنه ۶ جلوس ضرب ارکات	M
177	"	"	Same; but سنه ^۲ (an error). These double Rupees are re-struck on Spanish dollars.		B 111
178	"	Rupee	Same as No. 176.		M
179	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " " "		M
180	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	۱۱۷۲ شاه پاد سکه عالم کیر	۶ سنه ضرب ارکات	M
181	"	2 Annas	"	"	M
182	"	Anna	"	"	B 120

(II) *Calcutta issue of 1818; straight milling;
(2 Annas and Anna oblique); m.m. rose.*

183	"	Rupee	Same as No. 178.		B 121
184	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " " 179.		B 122

ARKAT (MADRAS) (*continued*).

185	AR	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	Same as No. 180.	B 123
186	"	2 Annas	" " " 181.	B 125
187	"	Anna	" " " 182.	B 126

(III) *Madras issue of 1833; plain edge with indented cord milling in the centre; m.m. trisul.*

188	AR	Mohr	Same as No 176.	
189	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Mohr	" " " "	B 109
190	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Mohr	" " " 180.	B 110
191	AR	Rupee	" " " 176.	B 113
192	"	Rupee	" " " " Hijrah date : 1176	B 115
193	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " " "	B 117
194	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee	" " " 180	B 119

(c) *Native style; copper*

195	Æ	2 Pais 1200	Regnal year 27	والا هجر ١٢٠٠ سنه	جلوس ٢٨ سنه ضرب اركات	B 184
196	"	2 Pais 1208	Regnal year 35	Same; but 1208	جلوس ت ضاركا سنه ب	B 185
197	"	2 Pais 12[22]	Regnal year 49	Same; but Hij- rah date only shows 12	Same; but 1299	B 186
198	"	Pai	" " "	"	"	B 187

MASULIPATAN.

*In the name of 'Alamgir II.
Struck in a collar; m.m. trisul.**

199	R	Double Rupee 1194	Regnal year 21	عالم کیر غاز ۱۱۹۳	مانوس میمنت سنه ۲ جلوس ضرب مجهلی پتن.	B 145
200	"	Rupee 1197	" " "	Same; but 111 <	Same, without regnal year.	B 146
201	"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Rupee 1198	" " "	" " 1118	"	B 147

* The two Rupees, Nos. 148 and 149 of the Brit. Mus. Cat., attributed to this mint, are coins of Mysore struck in the name of Shah-'Alam by the Hindu Raja, with a crescent for a mint mark.

The mint reads **مہی سور** The coins do not form part of the East India Company's series.

MISCELLANEA.

ERRATA in Mr. Crump and Mr. Johnson's "Notes on 'A Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I.,' by W. J. Andrew" (Part iv., 1902). Page 372, line 22, to "the full-face types occur alternately" add "two full-face types being followed by one profile type"; p. 374, line 2, for "14" read "18"; line 3, for "7" read "12"; and line 23, after "Redvers," for "had" read "was long thought to have had"; and p. 375, line 8, for "1130" read "1112."

ROMAN COINS FOUND AT SOUTHWARK.—The small hoard of coins here described was shown at the British Museum in April, 1902. It is said to have been found by a working engineer, during excavations for the "tube" railway at Southwark, close to the river, 18 feet below the surface, on a bed of peat moss. The neighbourhood is, of course, well known for its Roman remains. Of coins of the first two centuries previously found in or near Borough High Street, Roach Smith mentions (*Archaeologia* xxix, pp. 148, 149) plated denarii of Tiberius, a large brass of Nero ("Decursio"), a second brass ("Pax Augusti"), denarii of Vespasian, a large brass of Faustina the Elder, and denarii of Severus.

M. VIPSANIVS AGRIPPA.

(B.C. 27-12.)

1. [M · AGRIPPA · L ·] F · COS · [III].
Head of Agrippa I., wearing rostral crown.
B. S C in field. Neptune standing l., dolphin in r., l. resting on trident, mantle over shoulders.

Æ 23 mm. (Cohen, p. 175, No. 8.)

Number of
Specimens.

1

CLAVDIVS.

(A.D. 41-54.)

Number of
Specimens.

2. TI·CLAVDIVS·CAESAR·AVG·P·M·TR·
P·IMP· Head of Claudius l. bare.

R. S C in field. Pallas r., hurling javelin
with r., holding shield on l.

Æ 28·5-26·0 mm. A.D. 41.

3

The obverse legend of these coins is that given
by Cohen (p. 257, No. 83) for the "large brass"
coins of this type. The British Museum possesses
three other "middle brass" coins with the same
legend (29·5-25·5 m.m.).

NERO.

(A.D. 54-68.)

3. NERO·CLAVD·CAESAR·AVG·GER·
P·M·... Head of Nero l. bare.

R. ARAPACIS in exergue; S C in field.
Sacellum of the Ara Pacis.

Æ 28·5 mm. (Cohen, p. 280, No. 28.)

1

4. IMP·NERO·CAESAR·AVG·P·MAX·TR·
P·P·P· Head of Nero r. laureate; below,
small globe.

R. SECVRI TAS·AVGVSTI around; S C
in exergue. Securitas seated r.; before
her, altar.

Æ (bright yellow) 29·5 mm. (Cohen,
p. 300, No. 324.)

1

5. NERO·CLAVD·CAESAR·AVG·GER·
MANICVS. Head of Nero r. bare; below,
small globe (?).

R. PONTIF·MAX· TR·POT·IMP·P·P·
around; S C in field. The Emperor r. as
Apollo Citharoedus.

Æ 30·5 mm. (Cohen, p. 295, No. 247.)

1

- | | Number of
Specimens. |
|---|-------------------------|
| 6. NERO · CLAVD · CAESAR · AVG · GER · P ·
M · TR · P · IMP · P · P · Head of Nero r.
laureate; below, small globe. | |
| R. VICTORIA AVGVSTI around; S C in
field. Victory l. with wreath in r., palm
in l.
Æ (bright yellow) 28·5 mm. (Cohen,
p. 302, No. 340.) | 1 |
| 7. NERO · CLAVD · CAESAR · AVG · GER · P ·
M · TR · P · IMP · P · P · Head of Nero r.
bare; below, small globe. | |
| R. S C in field. Victory l., holding shield
inscribed SPQR.
Æ 28·5 mm. (Cohen, p. 299, No. 292.) | 1 |
| 8. IMP · NERO · CAESAR · AVG · P · MAX · TR ·
POT · P · P · Head of Nero r. bare. | |
| R. Similar to No. 7.
Æ 27·5 mm. | 1 |
| 9. IMP · NERO · CAESAR · AVG · P · MAX · TR ·
P · P · P · Head of Nero r. bare; below,
small globe. | |
| R. Similar to No. 7.
Æ 30 mm. (Cohen, p. 299, No. 302) | 2 |
| 10. Legend as on No. 9. Head of Nero l. bare;
below, small globe. | |
| R. Similar to No. 7.
Æ 31·5–28·5 mm. (Cohen, p. 299,
No. 303.) | 3 |

VESPASIAN.

(A.D. 69–79.)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 11. IMP · CAESAR · VESPASIAN · AVG ·
COS · III. Head of Vespasian r. laureate;
below, small globe. | |
| R. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI around; S C
in field. Aequitas standing l., holding
balance in r., sceptre in l.
Æ 27 mm. A.D. 72 or 73. | 1 |

12. Similar to preceding, but apparently no globe.	Number of Specimens.
R. S C in field. Eagle displayed on globe. Æ 27·5 mm. A.D. 72 or 73.	1
G. F. HILL.	

COINS FOUND ON THE PREMISES OF THE WORSHIPFUL COMPANY OF CARPENTERS.—I have had an opportunity of inspecting a number of coins found on the premises of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters, the greater part of which were discovered during the excavation of their property at the corner of London Wall and Throgmorton Avenue preparatory to the rebuilding of the Company's Hall in or about the year 1872. There is no record of the numbers of separate finds nor of the exact position in which they were discovered.

There are altogether 68 coins, of which the greater part are Roman.

It seems possible that the more modern portion of the collection was never actually buried. It comprises:—

A penny of George III., 1797.

Three very worn halfpence of about the same date.

A medalet. Justice and scales.

Three 18th century tokens, viz.:—

A Coventry halfpenny, 1799.

A Yarmouth halfpenny, 1790.

A Dodd's halfpenny.

A 15th century French jeton.

A two-sou piece and two sous of Louis XVI.

A 17th century Nuremburg counter.

A half-cent U.S.A., 1800, and

A one-pie sicca of the East India Company.

The Roman pieces are mostly in poor condition and consist of:—

Denarii	7
1st bronze	7
2nd bronze	16
3rd bronze	10
Byzantine bronze	9
Undecipherable	4

53

They cover a period of no less than 1300 years and no doubt comprise several deposits.

Twenty-seven Emperors and Empresses are represented as follows :—

Roman Emperors.

Name.	Coins.
1. Augustus	1 2nd Br.
2. Germanicus	1 " "
3. Nero	1 " "
4. Vespasian	5 " "
5. Domitian	2 " "
6. Hadrian	{ 1 1st "
	{ 2 2nd "
7. Antoninus Pius	2 2nd "
8. Faustina Senior (his wife)	1 1st "
9. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus	{ 1 Denarius
	{ 2 1st Br.
	{ 1 2nd "
10. Commodus	{ 1 Denarius
	{ 1 1st Br.
11. Septimius Severus	3 Denarii
12. Julia Domna	2 " "
13. Gordianus III. (Pius)	1 1st Br.
14. Marcia Otacilia Severa	1 " "
15. Victorinus Senior	2 3rd Br.
16. Tetricus Junior	2 " "
17. Carausius	1 " "
18. Allectus	1 " "
19. Galerius Maximianus	1 2nd "
20. Constantine II.	3 3rd "
"Constantinopolis"	1 " "

40

Byzantine Emperors.

21. Justin II. and Sophia	1 Br. Coin
22. Heraclius	1 " "
23. Constans II.	1 " "
24. Constantine V.	1 " "
25. John I.	2 " "
26. Emanuel I. (Comnenus)	1 " "
27. Andronicus II. (Paleologus)	1 " "
Uncertain	1 " "

9

The collection contains several coins of special British interest.

One of the second bronze of Antoninus Pius is of the "Britannica Cos IIII." type.

Of the seven Denarii five are of the reign of Septimius Severus who passed his latter years here, and both Carausius and Allectus are represented each by small bronze.

One of the middle bronzes of Domitian is of the "Moneta August" type, and the reverse appears to be from the same die as a similar coin which was found near the Mansion House Station during the building of the Underground Railway.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of the find is the batch of nine Byzantine coins. They cover a period of more than seven hundred years, and are evidently a little collection made in the East and brought here by some traveller. One or two of them are somewhat rare.

A great authority has suggested that they were the hoard of some English Crusader, but the late date of the last emperor represented, Andronicus II., 1282-1328, seems to me rather to negative this, for Edward I. brought the English crusading army home in 1272.

It is no doubt possible that there may have been individual Englishmen engaged until the end of the last crusade in 1291, but as in the case of the crusades, as so often since, trade followed the flag, I prefer to believe that the hoard is that of some old London merchant.

PERCY H. WEBB.

IV.

THE NUMERAL LETTERS ON IMPERIAL COINS OF SYRIA.

AMONG the minor unsolved problems of ancient numismatics is that suggested by the appearance, during the second century A.D., of single letters, or pairs of letters, on the reverses of the coins issued by certain Syrian cities. For the most part, at least, they are numerals. What can they have signified? Eckhel, in his *Doctrina*, discusses the question more than once, successfully combating the view that they were meant to indicate the regnal years of the various emperors.¹ The nearest approach he makes to any positive conclusion is the statement that they were "*haud dubie notae monetariorum*,"² a remark which he elsewhere qualifies by the cautious "*nondum explorato, quod hactenus novimus, earum sensu*."³ Since these words were written, much fresh material has accumulated. There is, therefore, good reason for once more endeavouring to discover the explanation.

The following list makes no pretence to completeness.

¹ *D.N.V.*, iii., pp. 259 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

It has been compiled merely from such sources as happened to lie ready to hand ⁴:—

COMMAGENE.

ANTIOCHIA AD EUPHRATEM—

M. Aurelius, A.

DOLICHE—

M. Aurelius, A, B, Δ

M. Aurelius and L. Verus, A, B, Γ, Δ.

Commodus, A.

GERMANICIA CAESAREA—

M. Aurelius, A, Δ.

L. Verus, A.

Commodus, A, B.

ZEUGMA—

Trajan, S.

Antoninus Pius, A, B, Γ, Δ,⁵ E, S, Σ, H, Θ.

M. Aurelius, A, B, Γ, Δ.

L. Verus, A, B, Γ, Δ.

Commodus, B.

Septimius Severus, B, Γ.

CYRRHESTICA.

BEROEA—

Trajan, A, B, Γ, Δ, H.

Antoninus Pius, A, B, Γ.

CYRRIUS—

Trajan, A, B.

Antoninus Pius, A, B.

M. Aurelius, A, B, Γ, Δ.

L. Verus, A.

Commodus, A, B, Γ, Δ.

⁴ Besides the trays of the Hunter Cabinet, I have consulted B.M.C. *Galatia*, etc., Mionnet's *Description*, Eckhel's *Doctrina*, Leake's *Numism. Hellen.*, the official catalogue of the Turin Collection, and the *Catalogus* of Ramus. All the examples to be found in any of these are included, with the exception of three recorded under "Antioch," by Mionnet. These three are SI, IΔ, and IS (Mionnet, Suppl., viii., Nos. 104, 113, 117), all of which rest on the very doubtful authority of Sestini. In the case of three of the coins described by Mionnet and of two described by Leake, I have been able to correct the reading by the aid of casts, which I owe to the courtesy of M. Babelon and Dr. James. The corrections are noted in their proper places.

⁵ This is the correct reading of the coin described in *Num. Hellen.*, p. 141, as having II.

HIEROPOLIS— CYRRHESTICA (*continued*).

Trajan, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, Σ, Η.
 Antoninus Pius, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, Σ, Ζ, Η.
 M. Aurelius, A, Γ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, ΙΑ.
 L. Verus, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, ΙΑ.
 Commodus, A, B, Δ, Η.
 Caracalla, A, B

CHALCIS— CHALCIDICE.

Trajan, A, B, Δ.
 Hadrian, A, B, Δ.
 Antoninus Pius, A.
 M. Aurelius, A, B
 L. Verus, A

ANTIOCH— SELEUCIS AND PIERIA

Domitian, A, Ε.
 Nerva, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, Σ, Η, Θ, Ι; K.
 Trajan, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, Σ, Ζ, Η, Θ,⁶ Ι, ΑΙ, ΒΙ, ΙΓ; ΒΔ⁷;
 ΕΚ, ΓΑ, Χ
 Hadrian, A, B, Γ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι; ΑΒ, ΓΔ,⁸ ΕΣ.
 Antoninus Pius, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, Σ, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, ΙΑ, ΙΒ.
 Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, A, B, Η.
 M. Aurelius, A, B, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Θ, ΙΑ, ΒΙ, ΓΙ.
 L. Verus, A, Ε, Σ, Η, ΑΙ, ΒΙ, ΓΙ.
 Commodus, Δ, Θ.
 Septimius Severus, A, ΑΙ, ΙΒ.
 Caracalla, B.

EMISA—

Antoninus Pius, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, Σ.
 Julia Domna, A.

SELEUCIA PIERIA—

Trajan, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, Σ, Ζ, Θ; Δ.
 Hadrian, Γ, Δ.
 Antoninus Pius, A, B, Δ, Ε.

A survey of the list will show that the custom of placing the letters upon the coins was introduced at Antioch under Domitian, and that it did not finally die out until the reign of Caracalla. In the cities which adopted it, it was practically universal from the time of Nerva until that of Commodus; for it must be remem-

⁶ This, and not C, is the reading of Mion. V., p. 197, No. 397.

⁷ This, and not merely ΒΔ, is the reading of Mion. V., p. 197, No. 396.

⁸ This, and not ΙΔ, is the reading of Mion. V., p. 198, No. 408.

bered that the omission of an emperor's name from the list is due not merely to the absence of letters, but to the absence of coins. As regards the letters themselves, it is plain that, with a very few exceptions (to be discussed presently), they represent the ordinary series of Greek numerals. The essential point to notice is that in no instance do they go beyond 13.

If we turn now to the reverses of the coins struck at Zeugma under Antoninus Pius, it will be found that the variations in type and inscription are such as will enable us quite readily to distinguish three (or possibly four⁹) separate issues.¹⁰ In the following brief description it is the points of difference that are emphasised:—

First Issue. ΖΕΥ ΓΜΑ ΤΕΩΝ (from l., downwards). Tetra-style temple, with peribolos and colonnades, the whole protected in front by a panellod wall; the roof of the temple is flat; numeral letter in field r. (A, B).

Second Issue. Same inscr. Similar type; the pediment of the temple rises high above the roof, and has upon its summit a crescent with horns upwards; numeral letter in field l. (A, B, Γ, Ε, Σ, Ζ, Η, Θ).

(Coins of this second issue are frequently counter-marked on the obverse with a star.)

Third Issue. ΣΕΥΓΜ ΑΤΕΩΝ¹¹ (from l., upwards). Similar type; pediment shown; no crescent; numeral letter in field r. (A, B), or beneath (Γ, Δ, Ε, Σ, Ζ, Η); the whole enclosed within a wreath.

⁹ The variation in the position of the numeral letter in what is called below the "Third Issue" may indicate a difference of issue. As the evidence stands at present, I think not.

¹⁰ The classification here indicated suggested itself when I was arranging the Hunterian coins of Zeugma. Subsequently, through the kindness of Mr. Wroth, M. Babelon, and Dr. K. Regling, I was able to test it by applying it to casts of all the relevant specimens in the Museums at London, Paris, and Berlin. In every instance where the details were decipherable, the coin fell naturally into its place. The chronological order of the issues is, of course, less certain.

¹¹ The form Σ is invariable in this issue, so far as my observations go, just as Ζ is invariable in the two earlier issues. The Ζ of B.M.C. *Galatia*, p. 124, No. 1, is a misprint.

It will be seen that each separate issue has its own cycle of numerals, beginning in every case with A. The next step is to compare this result with the evidence supplied by the class of pieces for which the not very euphonious name of "pseudo-autonomous" has recently been proposed. Only two of the cities in question struck coins that will help us here.¹² These were Hieropolis and Antioch. The following are all the examples I have been able to collect. In the case of Hieropolis the dates are reckoned from the Seleucid Era, and in the case of Antioch, from the Caesarian Era.

HIEROPOLIS—

ZMY [447] A.
ZNY [457] A, B, Γ.
AOY [471] A, B.
ΓOY [473] H.

ANTIOCH—

OP [170]¹³ A.
ZOP [177] A, B, Γ, €.
ϣP [190] Θ.
ΔϣP [194] A, B, Γ, Δ.
€P [195] A, B, Γ,¹⁴ Δ, €, Z, H, Θ, I.
ZC [207] A.
BIC [212] BI.¹⁵

A simple calculation will show that all these pieces fall within the period during which the numeral letters appear regularly on the imperial coins. Further, scanty

¹² The pseudo-autonomous coins of Seleucia Pieria occasionally bear letters, but they have no dates (B.M.C. *Galatia*, p. 272, No. 29 f.).

¹³ The coin reported by Leake to have OP, with B in the field (*Num. Hellen.*, p. 15), has really ZOP.

¹⁴ Eckhel (*D.N.V.* iii., p. 283) cites from Pellerin a coin of the year EIP with A or Γ. The types, however, are not found elsewhere with the date EIP, whereas they are characteristic of €P. No doubt there is a misreading, particularly as the appearance of numeral letters so early as EIP has no parallel.

¹⁵ This, and not BA, is the proper reading of Combe, *Mus. Hunter*, p. 30, No. 59.

as the list is, it contains every year (within that period) during which the "pseudo-autonomous" money was issued at all. There can, therefore, be no doubt but that the letters on the two sets of coins are identical in purpose and significance. We learned from the first set that the highest numeral ever found was 13, and also that the numbers ran in cycles. We see now that the cycles correspond to years. It is obvious, then, that each numeral must indicate the *month* in the course of which the coin that bears it was struck. The thirteenth is, of course, the intercalary month, which persisted at Antioch (and presumably elsewhere in Syria) down to at least 221 A.D.¹⁶ Parallels will suggest themselves readily. It seems odd that on the imperial coins there should be no mention of the year. Possibly the characteristics of the different issues were regarded as sufficiently distinctive.

It only remains to deal with the exceptions, which are not numerous. We found at Antioch Κ (under Nerva), ΕΚ, ΓΑ, Χ, ΒΔ (under Trajan), and ΑΒ, ΓΔ, ΕΣ (under Hadrian); at Seleucia Pieria Δ (under Trajan). It is plain that ΑΒ, ΓΔ, Δ, ΕΣ simply indicate a period covered by two successive months. In ΒΔ the two months become three. The remainder (ΓΑ, ΕΚ, Κ, Χ) can best be explained as the result of an attempt or attempts to introduce at Antioch the custom of placing on the coins, not the numbers of the months, but the names of the magistrates—a custom that is occasionally found at those Syrian cities on whose money the numeral letters do not appear at all. Gabala and Laodicea ad Mare are cases in point.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

¹⁶ See Unger in Iwan-Müller's *Handbuch (Hilfs-Disziplinen*², p. 770).

A FIND OF SILVER COINS AT COLCHESTER

(See Plate IV.)

ON July 5th, 1902, whilst some workmen were excavating for foundations on premises partly occupied by the London and Counties Bank in High Street, Colchester, they found a flat leaden vessel containing a large number of silver coins. There appears to have been the usual scramble, and many specimens passed into private hands, but most of these seem to have been recovered by the local police. When the authorities at Colchester were informed of the find, steps were at once taken to secure as much of the hoard as possible. In the course of a few days an enquiry was held by the coroner of the district; and the jury, having found that the coins were treasure-trove, they were handed over to the police and forwarded to H.M. Treasury, and thence to the British Museum for examination and classification.

The hoard, which, as delivered at the British Museum, comprised in all 10,926 pieces, consisting mainly of English "short-cross" pennies, with a good number of contemporary Irish and Scottish coins, and some foreign *deniers esterlins*. There was not a single specimen of the English "long-cross" coinage. It is probably the largest find of mediæval coins that has ever occurred in this country. The Chancton find of coins of Edward the Confessor and Harold II. numbered about 1,700; that of Beaworth, of coins of William I. and II., about 6,500; that of Tealby, of coins of Henry II., about 5,700; and that of Eccles, which covers precisely the

same period as the Colchester find, about 6,220. The Tutbury hoard of the time of Edward I. and II., found in 1831, was estimated at 200,000 pieces, but this number is no doubt excessive (*Arch.* xxiv., p. 148).

A summary of the Colchester hoard is as follows :—

Henry I. (London)	2	Norwich	55
Stephen ¹	1	Oxford	21
		Rochester	9
<i>Short-cross Pennies—</i>		St. Edmundsbury	457
Canterbury	4,122	Shrewsbury	6
Carlisle	21	Wilton	8
Chichester	34	Winchester	247
Durham	21	Worcester	15
Exeter	48	York	153
Ilchester (?)	1	Rhuddlan	15
Ipswich	34	Uncertain	22
Lenn or Lynn	20	Irish (John)	160
Lincoln	100	Scottish (William the Lion	
London	5,096	and Alexander II.)	168
Northampton	67	Foreign <i>deniers esterlins</i>	28
			Total <u>10,926</u>

On comparing this hoard with that found at Eccles in 1864, which, as already mentioned, comprised about 6,220 pieces, it will be seen that in the case of the more important mints their respective numbers stand at a little below two to one, thus :—

	Eccles	Colchester.
Canterbury	2,278	4,122
Exeter	19	48
Ipswich	18	34
Lincoln	58	100
London	2,643	5,096
Oxford	13	21
St. Edmundsbury	212	457
Winchester	142	247
York	96	153

¹ There was, I believe, another specimen of Stephen's coinage in the hoard, but it was not surrendered to the Treasury with other coins which were handed in by the holder.

The less important mints show more variation, and in the case of the Irish coins the numbers are 104 to 160; in the Scottish series, 196 to 168; and foreign deniers, 4 to 23.

The two coins of Henry I. do not call for any special remark. Both pieces are described by Mr. Andrew in his account of the coinage of that king (see *Num. Chron.*, 1901); but as to the reading of the legend on the reverse of the coin of Stephen, I am still in some doubt as regards the moneyer and the mint.

Turning to the "short-cross" coins, which formed the bulk of the hoard, the question which would naturally be uppermost in the mind of the English numismatist is whether the classification proposed by Sir John Evans so far back as 1865, and published in that year in the *Numismatic Chronicle*,² bears the test of this large hoard. The answer must at once be given in the affirmative, for the hoard not only completely confirms that classification, and, with the exception of a few new moneyers' names, practically adds but little to what is already known of English numismatics during the period over which the short-cross series extended. But for the addition of these moneyers' names, the table of mints and moneyers published in 1865 remains unaltered. The hoard, too, has not added a single new mint, so we may conclude that all those in operation between 1186 and 1248 are now known to us. As it will therefore not be necessary for me to repeat the arguments used by Sir John Evans, which led up to his classification of the short-cross coinage, I shall limit my remarks chiefly to an analysis of this particular hoard in respect of the

² See *Num. Chron.*, 1865, p. 219 f.

moneyers and the history of the mints. As, however, it is by no means improbable that some Members of the Society may not be able conveniently to consult the *Chronicle* of 1865, I shall make one exception, which is that I shall repeat that portion of Sir John Evans's paper which describes the variations of the portraits of the monarchs, always the obverse type, and on which the classification of the short-cross money is based.

These variations are arranged in five distinct classes as follows:—

Class I.—Large, well spread coins; workmanship fine,

See Pl. iv.
Nos. 1-4.

though in but slight relief; head turned slightly to the left, usually two curls on the dexter and five on the sinister side; five pearls to the crown. Occasionally the curls are more numerous—viz., three to five on the dexter and six to eight on the sinister side, but the general appearance of the bust is preserved. Dots are found at intervals between the words of the legends, especially on the later coins, whilst on the earlier pieces the Roman E for α, and C for α are sometimes met with. The letter A is scarcely ever barred, and the various forms are Α, Π, Λ, Α, Α, the last very rarely. Throughout this and all the other classes the letter W is written w.

Class II.—Coins rather reduced in size and of flat

See Pl. iv.
Nos. 5-10.

relief; workmanship coarse, very rude later on, and again less coarse; more than five pearls to the crown, and frequently a mere beaded irregular line. The bust has the appearance of being full-faced, and the number of curls varies from four or

five on a side to a single curl, the number on either side being generally equal. The eyes are sometimes represented by annulets and sometimes by pellets, and the beard by pellets or small crescents. Some of the later pieces (Pl. iv. Nos. 8-10) show an improvement in style and workmanship: the beard is slightly pointed, and the face is well marked in outline. They also have generally three curls on each side of the head. These coins appear to be intermediate between Class II. and Class III., and thus form a connecting link. The letter A is not barred, and its usual form is the simple Λ . The Roman E or C is not met with.

Class III.—Smaller coins of neat workmanship and in

See Pl. iv.
Nos. 11-13.

good relief; a long face narrowing much to the chin, and the line of the bust clearly defined; beard pointed, formed of straight strokes and joining on to the curls, which are always two in number on either side of the head, each enclosing a pellet. The bust varies a little, the chin being represented slightly broader, but the beard is always pointed and well defined. The letters of the legend on the reverse are sometimes linked in monogram, especially in the case of the London, Northampton, and Norwich coins. To this class belong the coins of London without a moneyer's name, and reading LONDON CIVITAS, CIVITS or CIVIS. Stops occur frequently in the legends in this and the next class.

Class IV.—Bust similar to the last, but with more than

See Pl. iv.
Nos. 14-16.

two curls on one or both sides, though as a rule not exceeding three. Sometimes the lower curl is extremely small. The beard is always

pointed. The busts on some of the coins with three curls on one side show the transition into Class V.

These two classes are properly varieties of one class, but, as we shall hope to show, mark separate issues. They also possess two marked peculiarities.

(a.) Coins with the cross pommée mint-mark. These as a rule are of good relief and of much better workmanship than other coins of these two classes. They usually present the peculiarity of the S reversed, and the word REX is sometimes divided by the sceptre REX—X, instead of the usual R—EX. The coins of this variety are noted in the description of the hoard by a ✱. When coins with the ordinary cross pattée mint-mark occur of the same moneyer, a + is added in the table showing the sequence of the moneyers (p. 139).

(b.) Coins with ornamental letters. The letters to which ornamented terminations have been given are the α and α, the ends of which are frequently curled round and sometimes enclose pellets α or α or occasionally flourished α. The letter A is always barred, A, and sometimes made ornamental, A, but this form has only been met with in the name of ABEL of London and RAVF of St. Edmundsbury, the latter using sometimes T for T. The upright strokes of B's and D's and the transverse one of N's are sometimes made double, whilst the tails of the h's and R's are often prolonged and curved, and letters are joined, as W=VN; ER=ER.

Class V.—Coins still somewhat smaller. Though having

See Pl. iv.
Nos. 17-20.

a neat appearance, the workmanship is inferior to that of the two preceding classes, and the striking is done carelessly. The bust is placed lower down to the inner circle, and

at first the neck and beard are shown, and the chin usually terminates in a pellet; later on the chin disappears, the beard and face broaden out, and very little of the former remains, the inner circle approaching nearly to the mouth. The curls are usually three on each side and formed of crescents enclosing pellets; sometimes there are only two curls, and in the earlier pieces the lowest curl is very small, as in Class IV. Stops are interspersed in the legend on the reverse, not infrequently dividing the syllables, as IO · hAN ON QANTER; æ · LIS · ON · LVN Dæ; hæ · LIS · ON · LVN · Dæ; TæR · RI · ON · LVN · D.³

The coins of all five classes have the king's name "Henricus," though they were issued by Richard I. and John, as well as by Henry II. and Henry III. The chronological sequence of the short-cross coinage is therefore based, not on the king's name, but on the variations of the king's portrait. This is the only instance in the English coinage of monarchs using throughout their coinage not their own name but that of a predecessor. Edward VI. at the beginning of his reign struck gold coins with his own portrait, but with the name of his father, Henry VIII.; and Henry VIII. himself and Charles I. adopted their father's portrait.

In describing such a large number of coins of the same issue, after giving the general type, the reverse legends only are set out, but the various spellings of the mint names under each moneyer have been carefully noted, with the number of specimens of each. Following the descriptions of the coins is a table of mints and

³ These pellets or stops occur but rarely on Canterbury and other coins, so they have not been noticed in the descriptions; but being more frequent on the London coins they have been noted.

moneyers, the latter being placed in their supposed chronological sequence. It is practically a reprint of the list given by Sir John Evans in 1865, with the new moneyers' names added. Moneyers not represented in the Colchester hoard are distinguished by a line below, and those which were hitherto unknown by an asterisk. Specimens with the cross pommée mint-mark are also noted.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE COINS.

HENRY I.

(Pennies.)

LONDON.

<i>Obv.</i> ✠ HENRICVS · R[EX]. Crowned bust facing.	No. of Coins.
<i>Rev.</i> [✠] PVLGAR ON LVN[DE]. Cross fleury.	
<i>Hks.</i> Type iv.; Andrew, Type xi.	

1

Obv. ✠ HENRIC. Crowned bust, three-quarters to left; sceptre in right hand.

Rev. ✠ B[ALDEPINE ON] LVN. Cross fleury with pellet in each angle over square of slightly concave sides, and with fleur-de-lis at each angle.

Hks. no. 255; Andrew, Type xv.

1

STEPHEN.

(Penny.)

OXFORD?

Obv. ✠ STIEFNE. Crowned bust, slightly turned to left; sceptre in right hand.

Rev. ✠ PAL[TER O]N OXCE.⁴ Short double cross within quatrefoil, having a fleur-de-lis inwards at each angle.

Hks. no. 268.

1

Carried forward 3

⁴ This reading is somewhat uncertain.

Brought forward 3

SHORT-CROSS COINAGE.

(Pennies)

Type.

Obv Head of king, three-quarters to left or facing, crowned, with beard, in right hand, sceptre; around, ✠ hÆNRICVS REX.

Rev. Short-cross voided; cross pommée in each angle; around, names of moneyer and mint ⁵

CANTERBURY

Class I.

None.

Class II.

ÆRNΛVD ON ΑΑΝ ⁶ (1)	1
GOLDWINÆ ON Α (21); ΑΑ (15), ΑΑΝ (7); without ON (2); no mint name (3)	48
hVÆ ON ΑΑNT (2); ΑΑNTI (2)	4
IOAN ON ΑΑNT (3); ΑΑNTÆR (1); ΑΑNTR (4)	8
IOhAN ON ΑΑΝ (2)	2
MÆINIR ON ΑΑΝ (42); ΑΑNT (14)	56
RÆINΛLD ON Α (1); ΑΑ (17); ΑΑΝ (10)	28
RÆINΛVD ON Α (5); ΑΑ (11); ΑΑΝ (7)	23
ROBÆRD ON ΑΑ (16); ΑΑΝ (36); ΑΑNT (4)	56
ΣΑΜVÆL ON ΑΑ (2)	2
SIMVN ON ΑΑΝ (2)	2
VLARD ON ΑΑΝ (17); ΑΑNT (29), ΑΑNTÆ (2); ΑΑNTI (2); ΑΑNTR (4)	54
Uncertain moneyers (6)	6

Class III.

ANDRÆV ON ΑΑ (1); ΑΑΝ (1)	2
ARNAVD ON Α (2); ΑΑ (44); ΑΑΝ (2)	48
✠ ARNAVD ON ΑΑ (1)	1
GOLDWINÆ ON Α (29); ΑΑ (14)	43

Carried forward 387

⁵ The name of the king and the moneyer's name is always preceded by a mint-mark, a cross pattée or a cross pommée. In the list of moneyers the occurrence of the cross pommée only is noted.

⁶ The word ON always occurs before the mint name, but is given in the list in the first instance only. Any exceptions are specially noted.

CANTERBURY (*continued*).

	Brought forward	No. of Coins.
✦ GOLDWINÆ ON α (2)		2
hÆNRĪ ON αAN (1); αANT (15); αANTÆ (28)		44
✦ hÆRNAVD ON α (1)		1
hIVN ON αANTÆ (22)		22
hVÆ ON αANTÆ (39)		39
✦ hVÆ ON αANTÆ (1)		1
IVN ON αANT (1), αANTÆO (2)		3
IOAN ON αANTÆ (2)		2
IOHAN ON αA (2); αAN (33); αANT (20); αANTÆ (19)		74
✦ IOHAN ON αAN (6); αANT (4)		10
IOHAN . B . ON αA (10); αAN (2)		12
IOHAN . M . ON αA (29); αAN (5)		34
RAVF ON αAN (1)		1
ROBÆRD ON αA (32); αAN (26)		58
ROBÆRT ON αANT (3)		3
ROBET ON αAN (1)		1
ROGÆR ON αAN (1); αANT (2); αANTÆ (12)		15
SALÆMVN ON αA (4)		4
SAMVÆL ON αA (15); αAN (37); αANT (9)		61
✦ SAMVÆL ON αA (1)		1
SIMON ON αAN (6); αANT (31); αANTÆ (2)		39
✦ SIMON ON αAN (2)		2
SIMVN ON αANT (5); αANTÆ (14)		19
TOMAS ON αANT (5)		5
WALTÆR ON αA (13); αAN (27); double struck (1)		41
Uncertain moneyers (7)		7

Class IV.

ARNAVD ON αA (1)	1
✦ ARNAVD ON αA (3)	3
GOLDWINÆ ON α (2)	2
✦ GOLDWINÆ ON α (1)	1
hÆNRĪ ON αANT (5); αANTÆ (13)	18
hIVN ON αANTÆ (12)	12
hVÆ ON αANTÆ (2)	2
IOAN ON αANTÆ (4); αANTÆ (6)	10
IOHAN ON αAN (5), αANT (4); αANTÆ (3)	12
✦ IOHAN ON αAN (4)	4
IVN ON αANTÆ (1)	1
ROBÆRD ON αA (1); αAN (2)	3
✦ ROBÆRD ON αAN (2)	2
ROGÆR ON αANT (5); αANTÆ (7)	12
SAMVÆL ON αAN (8); αANT (12); αANTÆ (1)	21

Carried forward 992

CANTERBURY (*continued*)

	No of Coins
Brought forward	992
✠ SAMVÆL ON ǺA (4)	4
SIMON ON ǺAN (3)	3
SIMVN ON ǺAN (1); ǺANT (2), ǺANTÆ (15)	18
TOMAS ON ǺANT (3), ǺANTÆ (1)	4
WALTÆR ON ǺA (2), ǺAN (10), ǺANT (2)	14
WATÆR ON ǺAN (3)	3
Uncertain moneyers (2)	2
<i>Class V.</i>	
hǺNRI ON ǺAN (45), ǺANT (252), ǺANTÆ (113)	410
IVN ON ǺANT (1), ǺANTÆ (15), ǺANTÆR (73), ǺANTÆRB (6), ǺANTÆRD (20)	115
IOAN ON ǺAN (6), ǺANT (40), ǺANTÆ (237), ǺANTÆR (87); blundered (9)	379
IOAN ǺhiǺ ON Ǻ (12), ǺA (103); ǺAN (31)	146
IOAN ǺhiǺ ON ǺA (28); ǺAN (9)	37
IOAN Ǻhi ON ǺAN (3)	3
IOAN F . R ON ǺAN (90); ǺANT (36)	126
IOhAN ON ǺA (1); ǺAN (5); ǺANT (4); ǺANT (2); ǺANTÆ (4); double struck (1)	17
NIǺhOLǺ ON ǺA (1)	1
NORMAN ON ǺAN (10)	10
OSMVND ON ǺA (8); ǺAN (153); ǺANT (49); blundered (1)	211
OSMVNDÆ ON ǺA (17); ǺAN (5)	22
OSMVNT ON ǺA (1); ǺAN (1)	2
ROBERT ON Ǻ (5); ǺA (10); ǺAN (26); ǺANT (9), double struck (1)	51
ROBERT VI . ON ǺAN (2)	2
ROGER ON ǺA (1); ǺAN (82); ǺANT (206); ǺANTÆ (21)	310
ROGER OF . R . ON Ǻ (112), ǺA (134); ǺAN (5); blundered (9)	260
[R]OGER OF . R . ON ǺA (1)	1
SALAMVN ON Ǻ (10); ǺA (52); ǺAN (4)	66
SAMVÆL ON Ǻ (1); ǺA (3); ǺAN (31); ǺANT (22); ǺAT (2)	59
SIMON ON ǺAN (1); ǺANT (20)	21
SIMON ǺANTÆR (1)	1
SIMVN ON ǺAN (1); ǺANT (60); ǺANTÆ (96); ǺANTÆR (4)	161
TOMAS ON ǺAN (17); ǺANT (231); ǺANTÆ (102)	350
WATÆR ON ǺAN (11); ǺANT (4)	15
WILLAM ON ǺA (7); ǺAN (75); ǺANT (52); ǺANTÆ (1)	185
WILAM ON ǺAN (4); ǺANT (4)	8
Carried forward	3059

CANTERBURY (*continued*).

	No. of Coins
Brought forward	3959
WILLÆM . TA . ON α (14); αΑ (127); αΑΝ (1)	142
WILÆM . TA . ON αΑ (5)	5
Uncertain moneyers (19)	19

CARLISLE.

Class I

ΑΛΑΙΝ ON αΑΡ (1); αΑΡD (7)	8
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Class II.

ΑΛΑΙΝ ON αΑΡ (3); αΑΡD (3)	6
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Class III.

TOMAS ON αΑΡ (5)	5
------------------	---

Class IV.

TOMAS ON αΑΡ (2)	2
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CHICHESTER.

Class II.

ÆVÆRÆRD ON αΙ (2); αΙα (1); Ι' (1)	4
GOLDWINE ON αΙ (1)	1
RÆINÆVD ON αΙ (1)	1

Class III.

PIÆRÆS ON αΙα (2); αΙαα (5)	7
RAVF ON αΙαα (3); αΙααS (1)	4
SIMON ON αΙαα (3); αΙααS (2)	5
* SIMON ON αΙαα (1)	1
WILLÆLM ON αΙα (6)	6
WILLÆLM αΙα (1)	1

Class IV.

RAVF ON αΙαα (2)	2
* SIMON ON αΙαα (2)	2

DURHAM.

Class II.

ΑΛΑΙΝ ON DVN (1); DVRÆ (2)	3
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Carried forward 4183

* αΙ? This coin, from its moneyer's name, evidently belongs to Chichester; but another coin of Class II. reading hÆRNÆVD ON Ι is usually attributed to Ilchester (see p. 123).

DURHAM (*continued*).

	Brought forward	No of Coins.
<i>Class III.</i>		4183
✠ PÆRÆS ON DVRÆ (1)		1
PIÆRÆS ON DVR (12); DVRÆ (2)		14
<i>Class IV.</i>		
PIÆRÆS ON DVR (1), DVRÆ (1)		2
<i>Class V.</i>		
PIÆRÆS ON DVR (1)		1
EXETER.		
<i>Class I</i>		
IORDAN ON EXÆÆ (2)		2
OSBÆR ON EXÆÆS (2)		2
RANVL ON EXÆÆÆ (1), EXÆÆÆS (1)		2
RIÆARD ON EXÆÆ (7)		7
ROGÆR ON EXÆÆ (3)		3
<i>Class II.</i>		
RIÆARD ON EÆÆ (4)		4
<i>Class III.</i>		
GILÆBÆRD ON EÆ (7)		7
✠ GILÆBÆRD ON EÆ (1)		1
IOHAN ON EÆÆ (1); EÆÆÆ (7)		8
✠ IOHAN ON EÆÆÆ (1)		1
RIÆARD ON EÆ (1); EÆÆ (8)		9
✠ RIÆARD ON EÆÆÆ (1)		1
<i>Class IV.</i>		
✠ RIÆARD ON EÆÆ (1)		1
ILCHESTER ²		
<i>Class II.</i>		
✠ hÆRNATVD ON I (1) ²		1
IPSWICH.		
<i>Class III.</i>		
ALISANDR ON G (1)		1
ALISANDRÆ ON G (16); GI (3)		19
IOHAN ON GIPÆ (10)		10
<i>Class IV.</i>		
ALISANDR ON G (1)		1
ALISANDRÆ ON G (2); GI (1)		3
Carried forward	4284	

² See also coin of EIVARTRD ON I given to Chichester.

No. of
Coins,
Brought forward 4284

LENN or LYNN

Class III.

IOHAN ON LÆN (2); LÆNÆ (1); LÆNN (1)	4
NICOLÆ ON LÆN (1); LÆNÆ (4)	5
WILLÆLM ON LÆ (4); LÆN (2)	6

Class IV.

IOHAN ON LÆNN (3)	3
NICOLÆ ON LÆNÆ (1)	1
WILLÆLM ON LÆ (1)	1

LINCOLN.

Class I.

ÆDMVND ON NIÐO (3); NIÐOL (1)	4
GIRARD ON NIÐOL (1)	1
LÆFWINÆ ON NIÐO (6)	6
WALTÆR ON NIÐOL (1)	1
WILLÆLM ON NIÐO (3)	3
WILL · D · F · ON NIÐO (3)	3

Class II.

ÆDMVND ON NIÐ (2)	2
RANDVL ON N : (1); NI (2)	3
WILLÆLM ON NIÐ (1); NIÐO (3) NIÐOL (1)	5

Class III.

✠ ALAIN ON NIÐOL (2)	2
ANDRÆV ON NIÐ (25); NIÐO (4)	29
✠ ANDRÆV ON NIÐO (1)	1
hVÆ ON NIÐOL (4); NIÐOLÆ (24)	28
RÆVF ON NIÐOL (3)	3
✠ RIÐARD ON NIÐO (1)	1
TOMAS ON NIÐO (2); NIÐOL (3)	5

Class IV.

✠ ALAIN ON NIÐO (2)	2
✠ ANDRÆ ON NIÐO (1)	1

LONDON.

Class I.

ÆIMÆR ON LVN (1); LVND (3); LVNDÆ (1)	5
ÆLAIN ON LVND (3); LVNDÆ (4)	7
ÆLAIN · V ON LVND (1)	1

Carried forward 4417

LONDON (*continued*).

	Brought forward	No of Coins.
WILLÆLM ON LV (9); LVN (33); LVND (13), LVNDÆ (1); L . . (7); LVDI (1)		64
IVJ IV MJÞJJIW (1)		1
WILLÆM ON LVN (8); LVND (3), L . . (2)		13
Uncertain (7)		7
<i>Class III</i>		
ABÆL ON LVN (3); LVND (72); LVNDÆ (229); LVNDÆN (8), L . . (9); LVDA (1)		322
ADAM ON LVND (8); LVNDÆ (32); LVNDÆN (1); L . . (1)		42
BANÆIT ON LVN (5); LVND (21)		26
BANÆI ON LVND (2); L . . (1)		3
FVLKÆ ON LVND (7); LVNDÆ (2)		9
* FVLKÆ ON LVND (4)		4
* hANRI ON LVND (3), LVNDÆ (2)		5
ILGÆR ON LVN (30); LVND (112); LVNDÆ (215); LVNDÆN (2); L . . (7½); LVNV (1); LVÆ (1)		369
ILGÆ . R ON LVNDÆN (1)		1
ILGÆA ON LVNDÆ (1)		1
ILGÆL ON LVNDÆ (1)		1
IOHAN ON LVN (1); LVND (3)		4
RÆVF ON LVN (7); LVND (124); LVN . D (1); LVNDÆ (195); LVNDÆN (6); L . . (4)		337
RÆVLF ON LVND (3); LVNDÆ (16)		19
RÆVL ON LVND (1)		1
[R]AOL ON L . . (1)		1
RANÆR ON LVN (7); LVND (27); LVNDÆ (2)		36
RIÐARD ON LVN (8)		8
* RIÐARD ON LV (1); LVN (3); LVND (1)		5
RIÐARD . B ON LV (17); LVN (10); L . . (1)		28
RIÐARD . T ON LV (2); LVN (4)		6
WALTER ON L (1); LV (142); LVN or LW (122); LVND (3); LVNDÆ (3); L . . (6)		277
WALTÆR ON LVN (1)		1
RALTÆR ON LVN (2)		2
WALVTÆR ON LV (1)		1
WATÆR ON LVN (6); LVND (4); LVNDÆ (1)		11
WÆ . . ON LV (1); LVN (1)		2
WLATÆR ON LV (5); LVN (6); LVND (1)		12
WILLÆLM ON LV (2 ⁹); LVN (5); LVND (1); L . . (1)		9
WILLÆLM ON LV (2); LVN (1)		3
	Carried forward	6532

* One of these may be WILLÆLM B, L or T.

LONDON (*continued*).

	No of Coins.
Brought forward	6532
WILLÆLM ON LVN (1)	1
WILLEM or WILLÆN ON LVND (3)	3
✱ WILLÆM ON LVN (3)	3
✱ WILÆM ON ON LV (1)	1
WLLÆN ON LVND (1)	1
WILLÆLM · B ON LV (32); LVN (14); L · · (1); V (1)	48
WILLÆLM · L ON LV (25); LVN (15); L · · (2), V (1)	43
WILLÆM · L ON LVN (1)	1
WILLÆLM · T ON L (1); LV (30); LV or LVN (2), LVN (8)	41
Uncertain ON LV (1); LVN (3); LVND (3); LVNDÆ (8), L · · (3)	18
LONDÆ ÆIVITAS (1); ÆIVITS (2); ÆIVIS (1)	4

Class IV

ABÆL or ABÆL ON LVND (1); LVNDÆ (32); LVNDÆN (1)	34
ADAM ON LVND (2); LVNDÆ (1)	3
ALAIN ON LVNDÆ (1)	1
ARNÆVD ON LV (1)	1
BÆNÆIT ON LVND (1)	1
FVLKÆ ON LVND (1)	1
✱ FVLKÆ ON LVND (1)	1
hÆNRI ON LVNDÆ (1)	1
✱ hÆNRI ON LVNDÆ (1)	1
ILGÆR ON LVND (7); LVNDÆ (24)	31
IOHÆN ON LVND (1)	1
PIRÆS ON LVNDÆ (1)	1
RAVF ON LVNDÆ (19); L · · (1)	20
RÆNÆR ON LVN (2); LVND (1)	3
✱ RIQÆRD ON LVN (2)	2
RIQÆRD · B ON LV (1)	1
RIQÆRD · T ON LVN (2)	2
WILLÆLM ON LVN (1)	1
✱ WILLÆLM ON LV (1)	1
✱ WILLÆM ON LVN (1)	1
WILLÆLM · B ON LV (2); LVN (1)	3
WILLÆLM · L ON L (2)	2
WILLÆLM · T ON LVN (1)	1

Class V.

ABÆL ON LVN (2); LVND (20); LVNDÆ (82); LVNDÆN (2); L · · (1)	107
ADAM ON LVND (78); LVN · D (23); LVNDÆ (880); LVNDEN (35); L · · (19)	535

Carried forward 7452

LONDON (*continued*).

	No of Coins
Brought forward	7452
ÆLIS ON LVNDæ (91), LVN·Dæ (2); LVNDæn (81); LVN·Dæn (2); L . . (5)	181
Æ·LIS·ON LVN·Dæ (1)	1
hÆLIS ON LVND (1), LVN·D (4); LVNDæ (3)	8
hÆ·LIS ON LVN·Dæ (2)	2
GIFFRÆI ON LV (4); LVN (180); LVND (101); LVNDæ (9); L . . (5)	299
GIFFRÆI ON LVN (7)	7
GIFFRI ON LVNDæ (6)	6
GIFRÆI ON LVN·D (2); LVNDæ (1)	3
ILGÆR ON LVN (10); LVND (167); LVN·D (42); LVNDæ (113); LVN·Dæ (4); LVNDæn (7); L . . (5); LV·Dæ (1)	349
ILGÆR ON LVND (1)	1
ILÆR ON LVNDæ (2)	2
ILGæ ON LVNDæ (3)	3
IGÆR ON LVND (2)	2
LÆDVLF ON LV (4); LVN (170); LVND (170); LVNDæ (10); L . . (5); LVD (6)	365
LÆDVFFæ ON LV (2)	2
LÆDVF ON LVND (7); LVN·D (7)	14
LÆDLVF ON LVN (2)	2
LÆDVLF } ON L . . restruck (1)	1
GIFFR . . }	
NIQHOLæ ON LVN (1)	1
RÆVF ON LVN (1); LVND (14); LVNDæ (58); L . . . (2)	75
RÆVLF ON LVN (23); LVND (92); LVN·D (11); LVNDæ (25); L . . (7)	158
RIGÆRD ON LV (5); LVN (228); LVND (93); LVNDæ (4); L . . (10); O LVND (2); LVO (15)	357
RIGÆRD ON LVN (5)	5
TÆRRI ON LVN (5); LVND (60); LVN·D (16); LVNDæ (20); L . . (2)	103
TÆR·RI ON LVN (4); LVND (13); LVN·D (11); LVNDæ (3)	31
TÆRIRI ON LVN (3)	3
TÆRI ON LVNDæ (1)	1
WÆLTÆR ON LV (19); LVN (16); LVND (3); L . . (3)	41
WLÆTÆR ON LV (1); LVN (5); LVND (2)	8
WÆTÆR ON LVN (1); LVND (1); LVNDæ (1)	3
Uncertain ON LVND (4); LVNDæ (4); LVNDæn (3)	9
Classes and moneyers uncertain (5)	5

Carried forward 9500

No of
Coins
Brought forward 9500

NORTHAMPTON.

Class I.

FILIP ON NORHT (1)	1
¹⁰ GİFÆRÆI ON NOhA (1)	1
hVGO ON NORHT (2)	2
RÆVL ON NORh (3)	3
¹¹ SIMVN ON NORh (2)	2
¹² WÆLTÆR ON NOR (6)	6

Class II

RÆNDVL ON NO (2); NOR (3)	5
ROBÆRD ON NOR (1)	1
WÆLTÆR ON NOR (2)	2

Class III

ADAM ON NORh (13); NCRH (5)	18
ROBÆRD · T · ON N (2); NO (5); NCR (12)	19

Class IV.

ADAM ON NORh (6)	6
ROBÆRD ON NCRh (1)	1

NORWICH.

Class I.

RÆINÆLD ON NCR (8)	8
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Class II.

RÆINÆLD ON NOR (2)	2
WILLÆLM ON NO (1); NOR (1)	2

Class III.

GİFÆRÆI ON NCR (1)	1
GİFRÆI ON NOR (5); NORW (1); NORY (1)	7
IOhAN ON NOR (7); NCR (1)	8
✠ IOhAN ON NORW (2)	2
✠ RÆNÆLD ON NOR (1)	1
RÆNÆVD ON NO (2); NOR (5); NCR (8)	15

Carried forward 9613

¹⁰ Although the name of Gifrei occurs in Classes II., III., and IV. on coins of Norwich, this coin is given to Northampton as the letter A in the mint-name is very distinct.

¹¹ These coins are certainly of Class I.

¹² One specimen reads hÆNRICVS on obv.

NORWICH (*continued*).

	Brought forward	No. of Coins.
<i>Class IV.</i>		
GIƿRÆI ON NORȝ (3)		3
IOhAN ON NOR (1); NORȝ (4)		5
RÆNAVD ON NCR (1)		1

OXFORD.

<i>Class I.</i>		
ASKÆTIL ON OXÆN (1)		1
IAFRÆI ON OXÆNÆ (1)		1
OWÆIN ON OXÆN (1)		1
RIƿARD ON OXÆ (1); OXÆN (3)		4
¹³ RODBÆRT ON OXÆN (1)		1
¹⁴ RODBÆRT ON COCO? (1)		1

*Class III.*¹⁵

ÆILWINÆ ON Oƿ (3); OƿS (2)	5
hÆNRI ON OƿSÆ (2)	2
MILÆS ON OƿSÆ (5)	5

ROCHESTER.

<i>Class III.</i>		
ÆLISAN . ON ROV (1)		1
ÆLISANDR . ON RO (1)		1
ÆLISANDRÆ ON R (2)		2
hVNFÆRÆI ON R (1)		1
hVNFRAI ON RO (2)		2
<i>Class IV.</i>		
ÆNDRÆV ON R (1)		1
<i>Class V.</i>		
¹⁶ ÆNDRÆV ON R . (1)		1

ST. EDMUNDSBURY.

<i>Class III.</i>		
FOLKÆ ON S . ADM (4)		4
FVLKÆ ON S . AD (1); S . . ADM (4); S . ADM (4)		9
Carried forward	9613	

¹³ This coin is of very good style, and therefore should be placed early in the series.

¹⁴ Probably a blunder for OXO.

¹⁵ Classes IV. and V. not represented.

¹⁶ This coin is of coarse work, and the portrait shows no crown, but a rich mass of hair and beard.

ST. EDMUNDSBURY (*continued*).

	No of Coins
Brought forward	9665
FVKÆ ON S . EDMV (1)	1
RAVF ON SANTA (2); ¹⁷ S . ANTAD (7), SANTÆ (2); S . ANTÆA (1)	12
RAVF ON . SANZAD (3)	3

Class IV

FVLKÆ ON S . ADMV (2); S . EDM (3)	5
RAVF ON SANTA (1); S . ANTAD (10); ¹⁸ S . ANTÆ (3), S . ANTÆA (6)	20
RAVF ON S . ANTAD (1)	1

Class V.

NORMAN ON SAN (63), SANT (30)	93
SIMVND ON SAN (25); SANT (225); SANTÆ (26); SAT (2)	278
SIMVNDÆ ON SANT (4)	4
WILLÆLM ON SAN (1); SANT (23)	24
Uncertain moneyers (3)	3

SHREWSBURY.

Class II.

IVÆ ON SALOP (6)	6
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WILTON.

Class I.

OSBÆR ON WILT (3); WILTV (3)	6
RODBÆRT ON WILT (2)	2

WINCHESTER.

Class I.

ADAM ON WINÆ (15); WINÆA (4)	19
CLÆMÆNT or CLÆMÆNT ON WIN (5)	5
GOÆLM ON WIN (3); WINÆ (15)	18
¹⁹ HENRI ON WINÆ (2)	2

Carried forward 10167

¹⁷ In one case the A in the name of the moneyer is formed Å.

¹⁸ Similar in two cases, similar A's.

¹⁹ This was probably an early moneyer, as the letter E is square on *obv.* and *rev.* He is not mentioned in Sir John Evans's list.

WINCHESTER (*continued*).

	No. of Coins.
Brought forward	10167
OSBÆR ON WINÆ (3); WINÆÆ (3)	6
OSBÆRN ON WINÆ (5)	5
RÆVF ON WINÆ (1)	1
RÆINIÆR ON WINÆ (3)	3
RODBÆRT ON WIN (4)	4
WILLÆLM ON WIN (1); WINI (1)	2
WILLÆM ON WINÆ (1)	1

Class II.

GOÆÆLM ON WIN (5); ON WINÆ (3)	8
²⁰ hÆNRI ON WIN (1)	1
WILLÆLM ON WI (1); WIN (2); WINÆ (1); WN (1); WNN (2)	7

Class III.

ADAM ON WIN (9); WINÆ (8); WINÆÆ (1)	18
✠ ADAM ON WINÆ (1)	1
ANDRÆ ON WIN (2)	2
ANDRÆV ON WI (8); WIN (8); WINÆ (4)	20
BARTÆLÆMÆ ON W (8)	8
hÆNRI ON WIN (1)	1
✠ hÆNRI ON WIN (1)	1
IOhÆN ON WIN (6); WINÆ (18)	24
LVKÆS ON WIN (10); WINÆ (10)	20
MILÆS ON WINÆ (11); WINÆÆ (7)	18
MLÆS ON WINÆÆ (2)	2
RÆVF ON WINÆ (15); WINÆÆ (4)	19
RIÆARD ON WIN (10); WN (3)	13
Without moneyer's name, <i>i.e.</i> double struck (1)	1

Class IV.

ADAM ON WIN (6); WINÆ (2)	8
✠ ADAM ON WIN (1)	1
ANDRÆV ON WIN (1)	1
hÆNRI ON WINÆÆ (1)	1
LVKÆS ON WINÆ (1)	1
MILÆS ON WINÆ (8)	8
RÆVF ON WINÆ (1)	1
RIÆARD ON WIN (1)	1

Carried forward 10870

²⁰ This coin has old English Æ's.

No. of
Coins.
Brought forward 10370

WORCESTER.

Class I

GOWINÆ ON WIR (9); WIRI (4)	13
OSBÆR ON WIRI (2)	2

YORK

Class I.

ÆFRARD ON ÆVÆR (13)	13
GEARRD ON ÆVÆR (9)	9
hVGO ON ÆVÆRW (7), ÆVÆRWI (2)	9
ISÆÆ ON ÆVÆRWI (2)	2
TVRKIL ON ÆVÆR (7), ÆVRW (1)	8
WILLÆLM ON ÆVÆR (3)	3

Class II.

DÆVI ON ÆVÆRV (2); ÆVÆRW (1)	3
ÆVÆRRD ON ÆV (6); ÆVÆ (2), ÆVÆR (2); ÆVR (1)	11
hVÆ ON ÆVÆRWI (4), ÆVÆRWIÆ (1)	5
NIÐOLÆ ON ÆV (1), ÆVÆ (2); ÆVÆR (3), ÆVÆR (2)	8
RÆVLÆ ON ÆVÆ (2)	2
TVRKIL ON ÆVÆR (23)	23

Class III.

DÆVI ON ÆVÆR (8)	8
✧ DÆVI ON ÆVÆRW (2)	2
NIÐOLÆ ON ÆVÆ (7); ON ÆVÆR (6)	13
✧ NIÐOLÆ ON ÆVÆR (1)	1
RÆNÆVD ON ÆV (6)	6
TOMÆS ON ÆVÆR (3); ÆVR (7)	10

Class IV.

✧ DÆVI ON ÆVÆRW (1)	1
IOhÆN ON ÆVÆR (1)	1
NIÐOLÆ ON ÆVÆ (1)	1
PÆRÆS ON ÆVÆRY (4)	4
RÆNÆVD ON ÆVÆ (1)	1
TOMÆS ON ÆVÆR (3); ÆVÆRY (3)	6
WILAM ON ÆVÆR (2); ÆVR (1)	3

RHUDDLAN.²¹*Class II.*

✧ hÆLLI ON RVLÆ retrograde (1);	1
hÆLLI ON RVLÆ (1)	1

Carried forward 10540

²¹ All the coins of this mint are of very rude work.

RHUDDLAN (*continued*).

	No. of Coins
Brought forward	10540
SIMOND ON RVLΛ (2)	2
✦ SIMOND ON RVLΛ (3)	3
✦ TOMAS ON RVLΛ (1)	1

Class III.

h��NRICVS ON RVLΛ (2)	2
✦ SIMOD ON RVLΛ retrograde (1)	1
✦ SIMOND ON RVLΛ ²² (4)	4

UNCERTAIN: Class II (2); Class III. (3); Class V. (13) (one reading IOh  N L ON), also fragments (4) of thin platings (?) of *obv.* and *rev.* 22

IRISH.

(Pennies.)

Type.

Obv. Bust of king, facing, crowned, within a triangle; in r. hand, sceptre; on r. quatrefoil, arranged outside the triangle, IOh  NN  S R  X.

Rev. Within a triangle, a flaming star above a crescent; in each angle a small star, and at each point a cross; stars also at sides of triangle, arranged outside which is the name of the moneyer and that of the mint.

JOHN.

DUBLIN.

ROBERT ON DIV�� (142)	142
WILL��LM ON DI (2)	2
WILL��M ON DI (4); DIV�� (3)	7

LIMERICK.

WILL��M ON LI (2); LIM�� (7)	9
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Carried forward 10735

²² The older form of    is here used.

SCOTTISH.

(Pennies)

WILLIAM THE LION.

*Class II**Type**Obv.* Head of king to left, crowned, before, sceptre; around

✠ WILÆLMVS RÆX.

Rev. Short double cross voided, star in each angle, around,
names of moneyers, or moneyers and mint

With mint-name.

PERTH.

✠ WATÆR ON PÆRT (2), PÆT (2) 4

ROXBURGH.

✠ AIMÆR · ADAM ON ROK (1)	1
✠ RAVL ON ROÆ (2); ROÆ (4)	6
✠ PÆRIS · ADAM · DÆ · ROÆ (1); DÆ ROÆ (1)	2
✠ PÆRÆS ADAM ON ROKÆ (3)	3
✠ PÆRIS ADAM ON ROÆ (1)	1

Without mint-name.

✠ hVÆ WALTÆR (67); name retrograde (10)	77
✠ hVÆ WALTÆR O (19)	19
✠ WALTÆRÆ (1)	1
✠ WALTÆR · ADAM (6)	6
✠ WALTÆR · Æ · h (2); Æ · hV (2); Æ · hVÆn (1)	5
✠ hÆNRI LÆ RVS (9); retrograde (1)	10
✠ hÆNRI RWS (1)	1
✠ hÆNRIC LÆ RV (2)	2
✠ Uncertain (2)	2

Class II., Var. a.

Similar; but head of king to right; before, sceptre.

With mint-name.

ROXBURGH.

✠ ADAM ON ROKÆ (5)	5
✠ AIMÆR · ADAM ON RO (2)	2
✠ PÆRIS ADAM ON RO (6)	6
✠ PÆRIS ADAM ON ROÆ (1)	1
✠ RAVL ON ROKÆBV (1)	1

Carried forward 10890

SCOTTISH (*continued*)No of
Coins.

Brought forward 10890

ALEXANDER II.

Type.

Obv. Head of king to left, sometimes crowned; before, sceptre; around, ✠ ALEXANDER REX.

Rev. Short double cross voided; star in each angle; around, names of moneymen or moneyers and mint.

With mint-name.

ROXBURGH.

✠ PARIS ADAM DE ROQI (2)	2
✠ PARIS ADAM ON R (2)	2
✠ PIERS ON ROQ (9)	9

FOREIGN.

(Deniers.)

ARENSBERG (Gottfried II., Count, A.D. 1156-1235).

Obv. ✠ GODEVORDI. Eagle, with spread wings.

Rev. ✠ ARNESBERG. Short double cross; cross pommée in each angle. (Chautard,²³ Pl. xxv. 10.)

1

CORVEY, Abbey of, xiiiith cent.

Obv. ✠ SCS · VITVS MON. Head, facing, of St. Vitus.

Rev. ✠ SCS · DAPHANVS. Short double cross; cross pommée in each angle. (Chautard, Pl. xxvii. 1.)

1

Similar, but legend on *rev.* SCS DERHAVSD

1

COLOGNE (Abp. Philip I., A.D. 1167-1191).

Obv. ✠ PHILIP ARCHIEPC. The archbishop seated, facing, holding crozier and book.

Rev. ✠ SANCTA COLONIA. View of the City of Cologne. (Cappe,²⁴ Pl. ix. 147.)

1

COLOGNE (Abp. Adolphus I., A.D. 1193-1205).

Obv. ✠ ADOLPVS ARCHIEPC. The archbishop, seated, facing, holding book and crozier.

Rev. ✠ SANCTA COLONIA. View of the Cathedral of Cologne, with flag on either side. (Cappe, Pl. x. fig. 152.)

1

Carried forward 10908

²³ *Imitationen des Monnaies au Type Esterlin.*²⁴ *Beschreibung der kölnischen Münzen des Mittelalters.*

FOREIGN (*continued*).No. of
Coins

Brought forward 10908

COLOGNE (*temp. Otto IV, A.D. 1209-1218*).

Obv. OTTO . INPRATOR. Bust of emperor, crowned, facing.

Rev. ✚ TANCA COLONI. Short double cross; cross pommée in each angle. (Chautard, Pl. xxi. 1.)

1

COLOGNE (Civic xiiith cent.)

Obv. SANCTA COLONIA. Temple surmounted by cross.

Rev. ✚ SANCTA COLONIA. Cross pattée. pellet in each angle

1

DORTMUND (*temp. Otto IV, A.D. 1209-1218*).

Obv. OTTO INPRATOR. Bust of emperor, facing, crowned.

Rev. ✚ TREMONIA REGA. Short double cross; cross pommée in each angle. (Chautard, Pl. xxi. 2.)

1

Obv. OTTO . INPEATOR. Similar.

Rev. ✚ TREMONIA REIA. Similar.

1

DORTMUND (*temp. Frederick II., A.D. 1218-1250*).

Obv. ✚ FREDIC IFA . on three sides of lozenge, within which, head of emperor, crowned; on l., hand with sceptre; the head is within a circle.

Rev. ✚ T . RE MA NIA at sides of lozenge, within which, circle enclosing short double cross, with cross pommée in each angle. (Chautard, Pl. xxi. 7.)

1

LIPPE (*temp. Bernard III., A.D. 1229-1265*).

Obv. hEINRIC' REX. Bust of king, facing, as in Class III. of short-cross pennies, i.e. with two curls on each side of head; right hand with sceptre.

Rev. ✚ LOMEGO DIV. Short double cross; cross pommée in each angle. (Chautard, Pl. xxvii. 5.)

1

MÜNSTER (Episcopal, xiiith cent.)

Obv. ✚ SANCTI PAVLI. Head facing, nimbate (as in Class III.)

Rev. ✚ MONASTERIVM. Short double cross; with star of six points (or roses) in each angle. (Chautard, Pl. xxv. 7.)

1

Carried forward 10915

FOREIGN (*continued*).

	No. of Coins.
Brought forward	10915
FREDERICK II., Emperor, A.D. 1218-1250.	
<i>Obv.</i> ✠ REX FRÆDÆRI S. Bust, facing, crowned; sceptre in r. hand.	
<i>Rev.</i> ✠ ROMANVS REX. Short double cross, cross pommée in each angle (3). (Chautard, Pl. xxi 4.)	5
Others with REX on <i>rev</i> (2); and REXA (2)	4

UNCERTAIN.

<i>Obv.</i> HÆNRIQVS REX. Head of king, facing, as in Class III. of short-cross pennies.	
<i>Rev</i> ✠ ALNIGNIÆRVS & [P]. Short double cross, with cross pommée in each angle.	1
Similar; but with head of king as in Class V., and legend on <i>obv.</i> HÆNRIQVS.	1

NAMES OF MINTS AND MONEYS ARRANGED UNDER CLASSES
AND IN CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE.*

CANTERBURY

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
<u>MÆINIR</u> ?	MÆINIR			
	VLARD			
	<u>GODWIC</u>			
	RÆINÆLD			
	RÆINÆVD			
	GOLDWINÆ	+ ✠ GOLDWINÆ	+ ✠ GOLDWINÆ	
	ROBÆRD	+ ✠ ROBÆRD	+ ✠ ROBÆRD	ROBERT *
	SÆMVÆL	+ ✠ SÆMVÆL	+ ✠ SÆMVÆL	SÆMVÆL *

* The names underlined are those which are mentioned in Sir John Evans's list of 1865, but which did not occur in the Colchester hoard; those with an asterisk are new.

† This moneyer is placed under Class I. in the list of 1865; but as there are no coins of this class of Canterbury, it should be transferred to Class II.

CANTERBURY—continued.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
	IOAN } IOHAN } SIMVN	IOAN + ✚ IOHAN + ✚ SIMON } SIMVN ANDRAV	IOAN } + ✚ IOHAN } + ✚ SIMON } SIMVN	IOAN } IOHAN } SIMON } SIMVN }
	ERNAVD *	IOHAN . B IOHAN . M + ✚ ARNAV ✚ hARNAVD *	+ ✚ ARNAV	
	hVæ *	+ ✚ hVæ RAVF * hANRI ROGAR	+ ✚ hVæ hANRI ROGAR	hANRI ROGAR

TOMAS	ROBERT . VI *
WALTÆR	IOAN QhIQ
	IOAN F . R
IVN	NORMAN
SÆLÆMVN	WILLÆM *
NIQHOLÆ	ROGÆR OF R .
OSMVND	WILLÆM . TA

TOMAS	❖ NIQHOLÆ
WALTÆR	
hIVN }	
IVN }	

TOMAS	SÆLÆMVN
WALTÆR	
hIVN }	
IVN }	

CARLISLE

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
ALVIN	ALVIN	TOMAS	TOMAS	
CHICHESTER				
RÆINÆVD	GOLDWINÆ			
ÆVÆKRD				
	PIÆRÆS			
	WILLÆLM			
	RÆVF	RÆVF	RÆVF	
	RÆVLF	RÆVLF	+ ✚ RÆVLF	
	+ ✚ SIMON	+ ✚ SIMON	✚ SIMON	

DURHAM

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
<u>ƿSKÆTIL</u>	<u>ƿDAM?</u>	* <u>NIQHOLÆ?</u>	ƿIÆRÆS	ƿIÆRÆS
<u>ƿSRÆTIN</u>	ƿLÆIN	+ * ƿIÆRÆS		
IORDAN	<u>NIQOLÆ?</u>	EXETER.		
OSBÆR	<u>ƿIÆRÆS</u>			
RÆVL *				
ROGÆR				
RIQWÆRD	RIQWÆRD *	+ * RIQWÆRD	RIQWÆRD *	
		+ * GILBÆRD		
		+ * IOHAN		

LINCOLN.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
GIRARD *				
LEFWING				
RODBERT				
WALTAR				
WILL . D . F				
EDMVND	EDMVND			
WILLÆLM	WILLÆLM			
	RANDVL *	hVæ		
		RÆVF		
		✠ RIGARD		
		TOMAS		
		✠ ANDRÆV	✠ ANDRÆV	
		✠ ALAIN *	✠ ALAIN	

LONDON.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
ΑΛΛΙΝ			ΑΛΛΙΝ *	
ΑΛΛΙΝ . V				
<u>ΑΛΛΑΡΔ</u>				
<u>ΑΝΔΡΑΥ</u>				
ΦΙΛ ΧΙΜΕΡ				
GILBERT.	GILBERT *			
<u>GODARD</u>				
<u>ΚΑΝΡΙ . ΠΙ</u>				
ΙΕΡΑΙ	ΙΕΡΑΙ * or ΓΕΡΑΙ *			
ΟΨΕΡ				
ΠΙΕΡΕΣ . M				
ΡΑΝΔΥΛ				
ΧΙΜΕΡ	ΧΙΜΕΡ			

PIERRES	PIERRES	PIERRES	PIERRES *
RAVL	PIERRES OI *	RAVL	
REINXLD	RAVF *	RAVF *	
STIVENX	REINXLD	REINXLD	
	STIVENX	STIVENX	
	GOLDWINX *	GOLDWINX *	
WILLXLM	WILLXLM	+ ✿ WILLXLM	✿ WILLXLM
hENRI	hENRI	✿ hENRI	+ ✿ hENRI
IOHAN *	IOHAN *	IOHAN *	IOHAN
RIQARD	RIQARD	+ ✿ RIQARD	✿ RIQARD
FVLKX	FVLKX	+ ✿ FVLKX	+ ✿ FVLKX
DAXI		/	
hEIM *	hEIM *		
WALTXR *	WALTXR *	WALTXR	WALTXR *
		WILLXLM . L	WILLXLM . L *

LONDON—continued

I.	II.	III.	IV	V.
		BÆNÆIT	BÆNÆIT	
		RÆNÆR	RÆNÆR	
		RIQÆRD . B	RIQÆRD . B	
		RIQÆRD . T	RIQÆRD . T	
		WILLÆLM . B	WILLÆLM . B	
		WILLÆLM . T	WILLÆLM . T	
		ÆBÆL	ÆBÆL	ÆBÆL
		ÆDAM	ÆDAM	ÆDAM
		ILGÆR	ILGÆR	ILGÆR
		RÆVF	RÆVF	RÆVF
		RÆVLF *		RÆVLF *
		✠ NIQHOLÆ		NIQHOLÆ
			ÆRNÆVD *	ÆLLIS or hÆLLIS *

GIFFRÆI
LÆDVLF
TÆRRI

NORTHAMPTON

FILIP

GIFFRÆI *

hVGO

RÆVL

WÆLTÆR

SIMVN *

hVGO?

RÆNDVL

WÆLTÆR

SIMVN?

ROBÆRD *

ROBÆRD

ROBÆRD . T

ADAM

ROBÆRD

ADAM

NORWICH

RÆINTLD

RÆINTLD

+* RÆNALD }
RÆNAVD }

RÆNAVD

Norwich—continued.

L	II.	III.	IV	V.
WILLÆLM GIFFRÆI <u>IOHAN</u>	GIFFRÆI + ✚ IOHAN	GIFFRÆI IOHAN	<u>hÆNRI</u> <u>MILÆS</u>	<u>hÆLIS</u>
ÆSKÆTIL	OXFORD.			
RODBÆRT*				
IÆFRÆI				
OWÆIN				
RICÆRD	ÆILWINÆ hÆNRI MILÆS			

ROCHESTER.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
		ÆLISANDRÆ hVNFÆRÆI	ANDRÆV *	ANDRÆV *
		ST. EDMUNDSBURY.		
		FOLKÆ	FVLKÆ	
		FVLKÆ	✠ IOHANN	
		✠ IOHANN	RÆVF	<u>RÆVF</u>
				NORMAN
				SIMVND
				WILLÆLM

SHREWSBURY.

IVÆ

WILLÆM

WILTON.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
OSBÆR RODBÆRT				
WINCHESTER.				
hENRI *	hENRI *	+ ✠ hENRI *		
ŴLEMEŴT				
RÆINIÆR				
OSBÆRN				
RODBÆRT				
GOŴÆLM	GOŴÆLM			
WILLÆLM	WILLÆLM			
ŴDM		+ ✠ ADAM	+ ✠ ADAM	
RÆVF	PIRÆS	RÆVF	RÆVF	
		BÆRTÆLMÆ		

MILÆS *

ANDRÆV

✠ IOHAN

LVKAS

RIQARD

✠ hænri

✠ MILÆS

ANDRÆV

✠ IOHAN

LVKAS

RIQARD

WORCESTER.

YORK.

æDRIC

GODWINÆ

OSBÆR

OSLACKLAIN

GÆRRARD

HYGO

hvmFRÆI

YORK—continued.

I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
ISAA				
WILL&LM				
TVRKIL	TVRKIL			
ÆVER&ARD	ÆVER&ARD	♣ <u>ÆVER&ARD</u>		
or ÆFR&ARD *				
	D&VI	+ ♣ D&VI	♣ D&VI	
	NI&OL&	+ ♣ NI&OL&	NI&OL& *	
	hV& *			
	R&V&L& *	R&N&V&D	R&N&V&D	
		TOM&S	TOM&S	
		♣ <u>IOh&N</u>	IOh&N	
			P&R&S	
			WIL&M	

RHUDDLAN.

I.	II. ♣ hALLI ♣ TOMAS ♣ SIMOND	III. ♣ SIMOND hENRIQVS *	IV.	V.
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The number of coins in each class of the short-cross coinage is as follows:—Class I. 303; Class II. 901; Class III. 2807; Class IV. 364 and Class V. 6197. The number of coins of Classes III. and V. of a single moneyer in the case of the more important mints, such as Canterbury, London and St. Edmundsbury, is sometimes very large. In Canterbury in Class III. they range from about 40 to 74 for a considerable number of moneyers; in Class V. several range from 115 to 410; in London in Class II. of six moneyers there are from 25 to 90 coins; in Class III., three over 300; and in Class V., the numbers vary from about 103 to 535.

For reasons which will be set out at greater length in the notes on the mints, I would assign dates to the classes as follows. This is practically following Sir John Evans's classification, but with a slight modification.

Class I. Henry II., 2nd issue (1180–1189).

Class II. Richard and John (1189–1208).

Class III. John (1208–1216).

Class IV. Henry III. (1216–1222).

Class V. „ „ (1222–1248).

Sir John Evans suggested that the coins of improved style under Class II. appeared to be intermediate between this one and Class III., and as the great re-coinage of John did not take place till 1208, these, with some of the baser type of Richard I. would fill up the space. In confirmation of this we have the evidence of the Chichester mint, which, after being in abeyance since the reign of Stephen, was revived by John in 1204 and was granted three moneyers. These were Reinaud, Goldwine and Everard, who all struck coins of rude fabric as Class II., but Everard also issued some of improved style approaching the type of the next one. Class III. has

been attributed to John, and it is these coins only that I would assign to him, for I do not think it at all probable that, having established a stereotyped design for his portrait, any change in that respect would occur again during his reign. In support of this we have the evidence of the Irish coins, the issue of which probably lasted till 1216, and in which no change whatever took place in the form of the king's bust, which is precisely similar to that on Class III. The Irish coins were first issued in 1210, *i.e.* two years after the reforms in England. The period of 1216–1222 would then be well filled up by Class IV., and that would furnish a good reason for a slight change in the portrait. Later on I hope to be able to show that greater events must have taken place in 1222 in connection with the coinage than appear to be recorded.

As to the moneyers, Sir John Evans in his original paper went very fully into their relation, class by class, and brought a good deal of historical evidence to support his classification. As I cannot materially add to that information I shall only note what new moneyers' names have been added to the list by the Colchester hoard. As already mentioned, the names of these new moneyers are distinguished by an asterisk. They are:—

Canterbury.—Ernaud and Hue (Cl. II.); Hernaud (Arnaud?) and Rauf (Cl. III.); Robert, Samuel, Robert Vi and Willem (Cl. V.). Robert Vi is not altogether a new name, as it occurred in a small hoard of short-cross pennies described by Mr. L. A. Lawrence in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1897.

Exeter.—Raul (Cl. I.) and Ricard (Cl. II. and IV.).

Lenn or Lynn.—Johan and Nicole (Cl. IV.).

Lincoln.—Girard (Cl. I.); Randul (Cl. II.); Alain (Cl. III.).

London.—Gilebert, Gefreior Iefrei, Pieres M., Rauf, Goldwine, Johan, Heim and Walter (Cl. II.); Johan and Raulf. (Cl. III.); Alain, Pires, Willelm L., and Arnaud (Cl. IV.); Walter, Raulf (Rauf?), and Helis (Elis?) (Cl. V.). Gilebert is mentioned as a moneyer in a Charter of Richard I., the date of which is about 1195 (*see* Brit. Mus., *Add. Ch.* 1046).

Northampton.—Giferei and Simun (Cl. I.); Roberd (Cl. II.).

Oxford.—Rodbart (Cl. I.).

Rochester.—Andreu (Cl. IV. and V.).

Winchester.—Henri (Cl. I., II. and III.); Miles (Cl. IV.).

York.—Efrard (Everard) (Cl. I.); Hue and Raule (Cl. II.); Nicole (Cl. IV.).

Rhuddlan.—Henricus (Cl. III.).

Besides these new names it will be seen that the hoard supplied almost a full list of moneyers who struck the short-cross pennies. The chief absentees are those who issued coins of Class I. in London, and these are only four out of a total of twenty.

Several additions have also been made of the cross-pommée mint-mark against the moneyers' names. These it is not necessary to note specially. In his account of the Eccles hoard,¹¹ Mr. Vaux went into this question at great length in connection with foreign deniers, which had only one result, and that was that he was able to show that at that time and later this special mint-mark was in somewhat common use on coins of the Emperors of Germany, of Cologne, Münster and certainly in the Low Countries. Whether in England it was borrowed from the Continent or not is of little importance; and on this point, I think, Sir John Evans gave the most probable explanation when he expressed the view that it was only

¹¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1865, p. 219 f.

the private mark of a set of die engravers in London. If a moneyer had struck with this mint-mark only, there might have been a special reason for his using it; but since nearly all the moneyers who used the cross-pommée mark used also the cross-pattée one, it seems difficult to work out a special theory on this question. One thing, however, is certain, that the engravers who made the dies with this special mark were much more skilful at their art than their fellows (see Pl. IV., No. 12). The general workmanship of these coins is much superior, and as a rule of higher relief; and the cutting of the die is very cleanly done. One other peculiarity of these moneyers was, they often, *not always*, reversed the letter S.

Mints.—In glancing through the comparative table of mints and moneyers one is much struck at the irregularity of the issues. It will be seen that there are fewer mints issuing coins of Class II. than Class I.; the number is again raised under Class III., but again reduced under Class IV., and still much further under Class V. These changes, I think, in most cases, can be accounted for; but in dealing with this subject it is necessary to keep in one's mind the following data connected with the issue of the short-cross coinage.

1. The introduction of the short-cross issue in 1180 under the superintendence of Philip Aymary.

2. The inquisition of moneyers, assayers and keepers of dies in 1208 at Westminster, when writs were issued to the moneyers of London, Winchester, Exeter, Chichester, Canterbury, Rochester, Ipswich, Norwich, Lynn, Lincoln, York, Carlisle, Northampton, Oxford, St. Edmundsbury, and Durham.¹¹

¹¹ It is interesting to note that of Class III. (John) we have coins struck at all these mints, and at these mints only.

3. The order of 1222 for a coinage of considerable value, when, as Ruding (Vol. I., p. 181) records, that on the morrow of Ash - Wednesday Ilger, the king's goldsmith, and three others, as Custodes Monetae of the City of London, Adam Blund and seven others, Custodes Cuneorum, &c., were sworn before the Justiciary, and eight dies for halfpennies and farthings, were delivered to them. And afterwards, on the Thursday before Easter, eight dies for pennies and the same number for halfpennies and farthings were further supplied, over and above the eight before mentioned.¹²

Sir John Evans has shown that the order for changing the name of King John to that of King Henry in 1220 does not apply to the coinage, as supposed by Ruding, but to the stamp in use in the Stannaries, for, as we know, John's name never appeared on his English coins.¹³ We are unable, therefore, to connect the order of 1220 with the coinage; but I am of opinion that a very great change took place two years later, and that it is due to some regulations made then that, although there may have been a great increase in the output of the coinage, there was at the same time a considerable suppression of the smaller mints, which had been in operation during the reign of John.

When Henry II. came to the throne, one of his first acts was to simplify the coinage and by ordering a general type for all his money, "which should be continuous," his desire was to establish a greater fixity

¹² It is possible that these dies represented eight different mints, but we only have a record of five mints in operation after 1222. It is probable that all the mints did not exercise their right, or may not have received the dies ordered. The dies for the halfpennies and farthings were evidently not put into use.

¹³ *Num. Chron.*, 1865, p. 288.

of type, and so do away with those constant changes which had hitherto existed. In 1180, when the short-cross coinage was introduced, this policy was still further extended, and it is evident that one of the chief objects of this reformation of the coinage was its centralization, to be brought about by a reduction of the number of mints and by placing them under the superintendence of a general overseer. During the reign of William I. and II. about 70 mints were in operation; under Henry I. there were about 44, and a similar number under Stephen. During the first coinage of Henry II. the number of mints in operation, as shown by the coins in the National Collection, is 32, and the effect of the new regulations of 1180 was to reduce the number to 12, or, as circumstances happened, to 11, Canterbury being at that time, so to say, in disgrace. These mints were either royal or episcopal only, the so-called baronial or manorial mints being entirely swept away. This, I think, is a strong argument in favour of the theory propounded by Mr. Andrew in his "History of the Coinage of Henry I.," that the granting of a manor carried with it sometimes the right of coinage.

The mints of which we have short-cross pennies of Class I. (Henry II.) are Carlisle, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Oxford, Wilton, Winchester, Worcester, and York. During the issues of Class II. and III. (Richard I. to John) some of these mints fell into abeyance, and others took their place; but under Class IV. (Henry III.) the number is reduced, and under Class V. (also Henry III.), though the output of coins is apparently much larger than previously, the number of mints is only five; and if the contents of the Colchester hoard are any criterion, three only out of the five were in

active operation, viz., Canterbury, London and St. Edmundsbury. As I think it will be possible, in most cases, from evidence supplied by Ruding and by Mr. Andrew, who also drew largely from Ruding, to account for this instability of the centres of coining, I propose to give a slight sketch of their operations before and during the period of the short-cross coinage. The mints will be taken in their alphabetical order.

Canterbury.—This mint, which was only second to London in its activity, dates back from the eighth century, and was in continuous operation from that time till and including the first coinage of Henry II. It may at first sight seem strange that of this mint we have no short-cross coins of Class I. (Henry II.); for though the name of "Meinir" was inserted by Sir John Evans under that Class, no specimen which I have met with can be so attributed; but they are all of Class II. Mr. Andrew¹⁴ states that when Edward the Confessor granted his rights in the city to the then archbishop, the royal mint ceased, and thus the absence of any reference to this mint in Domesday is accounted for. When the quarrel took place between Henry and Becket, which was followed by the latter's flight and the forfeiture of all his privileges, the right of coinage appears to have been rescinded, and was not restored by the king to the see during the remainder of his reign. Hence the absence of coins of Class I. In his first year Richard I. restored the coinage to Canterbury, and gave to Hubert, the Archbishop and his successors, the liberty of three dies and three moneyers. This grant was confirmed by John in his first year, and it appears also that, at the same

¹⁴ *Num. Chron.*, 1901, p. 181 ff.

time, a royal mint was re-erected there with three dies and three moneyers. Henceforth it will be seen that Canterbury was next to London the most active mint in striking coins.

Carlisle.—A royal mint was established there about 1129, and it appears to have been assigned one moneyer, as Durant and Erebald only struck coins during the reign of Henry I. The latter continued to work under Stephen, and was succeeded by his son William, who remained in office during Henry II.'s first coinage, and was followed by Alain in that reign and the next, and by Thomas under John and during the early issue of Henry III. It ceased operations in 1222 and again became active on the issue of the long-cross money, as in 1248 a writ was directed to the magistrates of that city to choose four persons for the office of moneyers.

Chichester.—From 1112–1114 this was an episcopal mint. It was continued under Stephen; was dormant under Henry II. and Richard I.; but was revived in 1204 by John, who commanded that there should be three dies in this city, two for the king and one for the bishop; and again in 1205 the king granted to the bishop two of his dies in that city, and the mint with all its appurtenances and liberties at a rent of thirty marks. We may therefore conclude that the three moneyers, Reinaud, Goldwine and Everard, whose coins are included in Class II., struck under John and not under Richard. In 1208 the officers of this mint were ordered to appear at Westminster; but it is probable the moneyers were reduced to two, as that number appears under Class IV. As there are no coins of Class V. we may conclude that the mint came to an end in 1222, and was not again revived.

Durham.—This was an episcopal mint, the right of

coinage having been granted to Bishop De Carileph by William I., circ. 1082. It was in abeyance under William II., but was continued under Henry I., Stephen and Henry II., who reduced the rent for dies from ten marks to three marks on account of those which he first placed in Newcastle; and who at last took away the dies which had been used for many years. The privilege was not restored till 1196, when Richard I. gave to Philip of Poitiers, bishop elect, license to make money in the City of Durham; a permission, it is added, which had not been granted to his predecessors for a long time back. Hence there are no coins of Class I. In 1208 the officers of the Durham mint were summoned to Westminster, and evidently the grant was confirmed, as we have coins of Classes III., IV. and V.; but the dies were apparently limited to one moneyer only, as we find only the name Pieres on coins of the last two classes. It would seem, therefore, that the mint ceased operations soon after 1222, but was revived in 1252 when Henry III. restored to Walter, Bishop of Durham, seven of his dies; but they could not have been long in use, as no specimens of the long-cross money are known with III or TÆRQI after the king's name. In 1272 Edward I. again restored to the bishops of Durham the privileges of their see, which included the right of issuing money.

Exeter.—The name of Exeter appears on the coinage of this country from the time of Alfred, and was continued through the Anglo-Saxon and Norman Kings to the reign of John. It was one of the mints which were closed in 1222, but it was revived on the issue of the long-cross coinage in 1248.

Ilchester.—That this mint was in operation during the issue of the short-cross money seems doubtful, as the

evidence rests on one moneyer only, whose coin reads HERNAND ON I. Coins of this mint of the Tealby type are known; but there are no short-cross pennies which can be given to Henry II. after 1186. It was revived on the issue of the long-cross money in 1248. It is possible that Richard I. on his accession renewed the grant of coinage, and that, like Lichfield, it was only put into force by one moneyer, and for a short time. On the other hand, the coin may be of Chichester if we take into account the coin of that mint reading EVERARD ON I.

Ipswich.—Mr. Andrew¹⁵ points out that when William I. confiscated the Earldom of East Anglia, Roger Bigod, who received the lion's share of the lordships and manors in Suffolk, had also the custody of the burg of Ipswich *in manu Regis*, and in that capacity was entitled to the grant of the mint. From this time coins of Ipswich exist down to the reign of Henry II., *i.e.* till 1171, when the king, as Robert de Torigny records, succeeded to *tota Britannia et comitatus de Gippewic*. No further mention is made of the mint till 1208, when the officers were summoned by writ to Westminster; and as no coin exists of Class I. or II. we may conclude that from 1186, till that date it was not in operation. It closed about 1222, and no further mention is made of it.

Lenn or Lynn.—The first record of this mint is met with in the ninth year (1208) of John, when the moneyers of this and various other places were commanded to attend at Westminster. This would imply that a mint had already existed there; but the only proof of this is a coin of the first issue of Henry II., Tealby type, which reads ROGER ON LÆN. It was found at Ampthill, and

¹⁵ *Num. Chron.*, 1901, p. 231 f.

should be in the possession of the Numismatic Society.¹⁶ As there are short-cross pennies of Classes III. and IV. it is evident that the grant was renewed in 1208, but not continued after circ. 1222.

Lichfield.—The first mention of this mint in the records is during the reign of Stephen, who gave by Charter to the Church of St. Chad at Ipswich, and to Walter, Bishop of Coventry and his successors for ever, the privilege of one die here. This grant was made some time between 1149 and 1159, and it was renewed in 1189 by Richard I. to Hugh, then Bishop of Coventry. I am not aware if there were any coins of Stephen issued under this grant; but in evidence of that of Richard I. there are coins struck by the moneyer IOXN, a specimen of which is in the British Museum. It is undoubtedly of Class II., so I have transferred the name to that section in the list of moneyers. Though the grant of Richard I. was "for ever," it would appear that only one pair of dies was despatched to Lichfield, and that the mint was active for only a very short time. This is the only mint which was not represented in the Colchester Find.

Lincoln.—This was at all times a royal mint, and the name of Lincoln occurs first on the coins of Aelfred and from Eadgar to Edward I. From the evidence of the coins it seems that there was a cessation of work at the Lincoln mint during the later period of the short-cross coinage, i.e., Class V. It is therefore possible that for some reason not recorded, dies were not sent to that city from about 1222 till the issue of the long-cross money in 1248.

London.—It is scarcely necessary to make any remarks

¹⁶ *Num. Chron.*, N.S. ii., p. 233.

about this mint. Its origin dates from the introduction of coinage in this country, and at least from Norman times it has been the centre of our currency; so that whenever money was issued London has always provided its full share of the output. We have not therefore, in the case of the short-cross coinage, to account for any *lacunæ*. In close association with the London mint was that of Southwark, which was closed about 1131,¹⁷ but re-opened by Stephen. As no coins are known of Southwark from that time till the reign of Edward VI. we may conclude that the mint was in abeyance from the accession of Henry II.

Northampton.—This royal mint was the creation of Henry I., and the date of its foundation was about 1126–1128.¹⁸ It was in active operation from that time till the beginning of the reign of Henry III., when it is recorded that in the 14th year (1229) of that king's reign the townsmen accounted for sixty shillings out of the profits of the coinage, and for thirty-six pounds arising from the said profits, which had been unpaid for some years past. The absence of coins of Class V. may therefore be accounted for in a measure to the circumstance that the mint, early in Henry's reign, not having paid its dues was closed, and was not opened till the issue of the long-cross money, when it became again active. The attribution of some of the coins reading NO or NOR to this mint and not to Norwich is doubtful; but similarity of moneyers' names is the only criterion for their classification. The attributions made by Sir John Evans have not in consequence been disturbed. The abbreviation of TH into $\overline{\text{h}}$ should be noticed, and also CR for OR in this and the next mint.

¹⁷ *Num. Chron.*, 1901, p. 286.

¹⁸ *Num. Chron.*, 1901, p. 320.

Norwich.—This was a royal mint and was in active operation from early Anglo-Saxon times, and there is a nearly continuous series of coins till early in the reign of Henry III. Domesday states that the bishop had the privilege of one moneyer in Norwich, if he thought fit; but it is not known if he exercised this right. With other mints it ceased work about 1222; but was again active on the issue of the long-cross money until the end of the reign.

Oxford.—The earliest coins of Oxford are of the time of Aelfred; and though the series is continuous down to the accession of Edward I. there appears to have been intervals when operations were suspended. Mr. Andrew¹⁹ shows that to all appearance there was an interval from 1103–1131, when such a suspension took place. This he accounts for in a dispute between the citizens and the king, in consequence of which the privilege of the mint was rescinded. Throughout the reign of Henry II. coins were struck at Oxford, and also in that of John and Henry III.; but as the moneyers are few the issues were small. An interval occurred in the reign of Richard I. as there are no coins of Class II., and this is the more noticeable as in 1208 Oxford was one of the cities whose officers of the mint were ordered to put in an appearance at Westminster. We are therefore at a loss to account for the suspension of the mint in this instance.

Rochester.—The history of this mint is interesting. Coins are supposed to have been struck at Rochester under the Kentish kings, and that the mint was continued by the kings of Wessex we have ample proof. By the law of Aethelstan the king had two moneyers there and

¹⁹ *Num. Chron.*, 1901, p. 354.

the bishop one. As no mention is made of this mint in Domesday Mr. Andrew ²⁰ concludes that when William I. created his half-brother, Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, Earl of Kent, and gave him the City of Rochester, the grant carried with it the king's mint; and when the earldom was escheated in 1082 the right to two moneyers fell into abeyance. The bishop, however, still appears to have exercised his right; but even this ceased for some reason in 1102, and the mint was not revived for over a century, viz., in 1208. To explain this, Mr. Andrew supposes that for some reason the Rochester mint was transferred to Canterbury, and remained absorbed into the archiepiscopal mint until it was revived by John. Unfortunately this is only conjecture. It is clear, however, that it was revived by John, and was in operation for some time in the reign of his successor, but as we have only one moneyer who issues coins of Classes IV. and V. it could not have been very active. It was not again revived.

St. Edmundsbury.—The evidence of the coins scarcely coincides with the records of this mint. It was an ecclesiastical one, having been granted to the abbot, and is therefore not mentioned in Domesday. It had one moneyer under William I. and II. and Henry I.; but this number was increased by Stephen and again reduced to one by Henry II., who granted that it should have one moneyer with all the privileges it had been accustomed to exercise. Though this grant was confirmed by Richard I. we have no coins of that king nor of his father after the introduction of the short-cross money. This is one of the mints which were suppressed by Philip Aylmer. At the inquisition of 1208 the moneyers of this mint

²⁰ *Num. Chron.*, 1901, p. 880.

were summoned to Westminster, and the coinage again re-commenced, and continued throughout the reign of Henry III. and onwards to that of Edward III. St. Edmundsbury stands third in the list of mints for the number of coins of Class V. in this hoard. Simund the moneyer appears to have been very active.

Shrewsbury.—The coinage of this place was somewhat intermittent. Established by Aethelstan we find the mint in operation under several of the succeeding kings to William II. During the reign of Henry I. it was dormant, was renewed by Stephen and continued active till the striking of the short-cross money; and was only resuscitated for a short time under Richard during the whole period over which that issue extended. It is probable that on his accession Richard renewed the grant of the mint, of which however but little use was made. In 1248 Henry III. revived it, together with several others of the old mints, but it does not appear to have had a long existence. It was again revived under Charles I.

Wilton.—Of this mint Mr. Andrew says ²¹: "It was a comparatively prolific Saxon mint from the time of Edgar until the Conquest; it was a royal mint and seems to have usually employed three moneyers. This condition prevailed under William I., until the time came when Herman, Bishop of Sherborne and Wilton, finally removed the joint see to Salisbury. It is evident that coincidentally with such removal the mint of Wilton discontinued its constant output, and seems only to have issued its money when some special demand for currency would render such issue profitable." Throughout the

²¹ *Num. Chron.*, 1901, p. 448 f.

reigns of Henry I. and Stephen the coins are not numerous. When the new type was introduced by Henry II. at the beginning of his reign, we meet with a few moneyers, and this occurred again in 1186; but of the short-cross coinage only two moneyers are known, and thus the mint seems to have been in abeyance throughout the remaining period of this issue, and only to have resumed operations for a short period on the striking of the long-cross money in 1248, when a writ was issued for the election of officers of the mint in this and in various other towns.

Winchester.—This mint dates back to early Saxon times. Aethelstan established six moneyers there; this number was doubled by Aethelred II.; but again reduced to six by William I.; and by Henry to one. At the Inquisition held by Henry I. in 1126 Winchester again received its six moneyers. This number does not seem to have been maintained after Henry I.; and in 1208 John granted to the city a moneyer and an exchange. The number of moneyers, however, of which we have coins of Class III. would rather prove that there was more than one moneyer employed at Winchester in that reign. For some reason not recorded, the operations of the mint were suppressed about 1222, and not revived till the issue of the long-cross money in 1248, when Matthew of Paris states, "Henry III. also continued the mint here." This mint appears to have been discontinued after the death of Henry III.

Worcester.—This mint dates from the reign of Aethelred II., and was a royal one; but as no mention is made of it in the survey of 1086 it was probably farmed to the citizens, as were also other royal mints.²² It was working

²² *New Chron.*, 1901, p. 474.

during the reigns of Henry I., Stephen, and Henry II., and survived the introduction of the short-cross coinage; but apparently only for a short period as the only coins known are of Class I. It was not again revived till the reign of Charles I., and then only under exceptional conditions.

York.—For many centuries York was the monetary centre of the north, and evidence is not wanting that it may have existed even in Ancient British times. It is scarcely necessary to say that it was an archiepiscopal as well as a royal mint. At the Conquest, owing to the resistance of its inhabitants, the city was disfranchised and deprived of its mint privileges; but William was not strong enough to curtail the rights of the archbishops, who continued to strike money and were entitled to three moneys.²³ These were reduced to two under William II. and Henry I.; but in 1131–1135 a third moneyer was appointed who was a royal moneyer, thus resuscitating the king's mint in that city. The coinage is henceforth continuous throughout the reigns of Stephen, Henry II., and Richard and John to the commencement of that of Henry III. Like many others it ceased operations about 1222, was revived on the issue of the long-cross money, and continued with some intermission till the reign of William III.

Rhuddlan.—The attribution of coins to this mint has always been considered uncertain, as there are no records on which to rely. Yet the legends *RVLX* and *RVLXN* suggest no other place. Rhuddlan was a town of considerable antiquity, and also of importance on account of its being situate on the borders of England and Wales. It was

²³ *Num. Chron.*, 1901, p. 481.

the scene of a great conflict in 795 between Offa of Mercia and Caradoc, King of North Wales. A castle was built there in 1015, which was restored by Henry II. in 1157. Towards the end of the reign of Richard I., Ranulph de Meschines, Earl of Chester, was besieged there by a body of Welsh; but was relieved by Roger de Lacy, his lieutenant, just when the defence of the town seemed to be no longer possible. When John invaded North Wales in 1211 he advanced through Rhuddlan; and in the following year the castle was attacked, but without effect, by Prince Llewellyn, who however succeeded in capturing it in 1214. From this time till 1277 the place constantly changed hands, when it was finally wrested from the Welsh by Edward I.

The coins attributed to Rhuddlan are of Classes II. and III., and therefore their issue just covers the period when the town witnessed its two sieges, viz. at the close of the reign of Richard I. and in 1214. It is probable, therefore, that if these coins were struck at Rhuddlan they are of the nature of a "money of necessity," i.e. were struck for the soldiery and townspeople during those sieges. What favours this view is that the dies used must have been of local manufacture, and could never have come from London, the design being very rude and the letters misshapen, whilst the legends read sometimes backwards. Taking these points into consideration I think these coins with RVLΛ and RVLΛN may with every probability be attributed to Rhuddlan; and the absence of any record of a grant of a mint to the place is due to the exigencies under which the coins were struck.

Turning to the other coins in the hoard, which are not purely English, the first to be noticed are the Irish. These are all pennies of John and of one type only, with

the bust of the king crowned and holding a sceptre within a triangle on the obverse, and on the reverse a crescent surmounted by a star (the badge of John, which he had assumed on the death of Richard) also within a triangle. Unlike his English money John puts his own name on the obverse, whilst on the reverse is that of the moneyer and the mint. This coinage was introduced by John in 1210, and the portrait of the king is borrowed from that on his English coinage, which had first appeared two years previously. The face is long and the beard pointed, and formed of downward straight lines; he wears a crown, and the hair on each side of his head is always arranged in two curls, each enclosing a pellet. There was absolutely no change in the portrait throughout the reign, and it is on account of this fixity of type in his Irish coinage that we have presumed that also no change occurred in the portrait on the English coinage. The only mints represented in the hoard are Dublin and Limerick, no specimen of Waterford being present; and the only moneyers are Robert and Willelm (Dublin) and Willelm (Limerick). It is not surprising that there were no Irish coins of Henry III. in the hoard, as they are only of the long-cross type, of which no English specimens were met with also.

The Scottish coins are of William the Lion and Alexander II., and are all pennies of the short-cross type, which was adopted in Scotland in 1195, or nine years after its introduction into England. The coins of William the Lion are of the Perth and Roxburgh mints; but by far the greater number are without the mint name. Those of Alexander II. are of Roxburgh only, and vary only in the head being crowned or not crowned. They are of the early type of his reign.

The foreign coins are all *deniers esterlins* of the Low Countries and Northern Germany, and are mainly of the short-cross type, borrowed from the English money. In fact, on many the portrait of John is closely copied, and on one piece of Dortmund, *temp.* Frederick II., a combination of the types of the English and Irish money is shown, having the head within a triangle on the obverse and a short double cross within a triangle on the reverse. The presence of so many of these foreign *deniers* may be accounted for in the circumstance that Colchester, even at that time, was noted for its woollen manufactures, which no doubt attracted a considerable number of foreigners, especially Flemish, who brought these coins with them.

It now only remains to account in some way for the burial of so large a hoard. If it could be shown that the hoard had been concealed early in the reign of Henry III., a cause would be found in the fact that, towards the end of the reign of John, Colchester fell into the hands of foreigners, who had come over to assist the barons, and was held by Prince Louis, son of Philip II., king of France, soon after the accession of Henry III. The barons submitted to their "new king," and the castle was again taken and Prince Louis was expelled from the kingdom. The sudden departure of this Prince would have accounted for the concealment of such a large hoard. But the coins themselves show that the burial could not have taken place till very shortly before 1248, or about that date, for the names of all the moneyers who coined Class V. at London and Canterbury are met with, and even the latest struck pieces show that they had been for some time in circulation. We must therefore look for some event which occurred about 1248. It was at

this time, 1247, that Richard, Earl of Cornwall, son of John, was, by authority of the Pope, whose demands he had secretly and wisely satisfied, raising large sums for himself from those who wished to be absolved from their vow of proceeding on the crusade; but there is no evidence that Earl Richard was at this time connected in any special manner with the town of Colchester. Another reason must therefore be sought for, and I would suggest that this hoard was one of the effects of the issue of the long-cross coinage. Colchester had been a mint of considerable importance down to the end of the reign of Henry I.; in fact, it dates back from Roman times. It was the ancient Camulodunum, and it was there and in London that the Romans struck their coins when in Britain. Though the mint was in abeyance the town of Colchester was a centre of commercial activity, and it could well have been selected as one of the places for the distribution of the new long-cross coinage and the withdrawal from circulation of the old short-cross one. This would, moreover, not only account for the entire absence of any long-cross coins, as well as for the presence of so many Irish and Scottish pieces, but also for the somewhat unusual number of foreign *deniers*, nearly all of which are of the short-cross type. Every coin in circulation in the district would have to be brought into the exchange; for from that date only the new coins would be accepted. The nature of the vessel in which the coins were placed points to the circumstance of a theft; and one might further conjecture that the coins were stolen whilst the exchange was proceeding, concealed and not recovered till they were unearthed in July last. I am inclined to think that the Eccles hoard was buried under like circumstances.

H. A. GRUEBER.

VI.

TWO COINS RELATING TO THE BUWAYHID AND 'OKAYLID DYNASTIES OF MESOPOTAMIA AND PERSIA.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1900, my official duties took me to Bombay, where I obtained the two silver coins which form the subject of this note. Being shortly afterwards compelled to return up-country, I was precluded, by want of leisure and lack of the authorities necessary for reference, from making anything like a complete identification of the coins or a satisfactory transcription of their legends. In 1902 I came home on long leave, and have been able to devote the necessary time to a careful examination of the pieces and to consultation with recognised authorities on the subject. Thanks to the kind assistance of Dr. Codrington and Mr. Rapson, I have succeeded in fixing the attribution of the coins, and in transcribing more or less completely the obscure but very interesting legends which they bear.

The result has been the discovery of two unedited coins, which will, I believe, supply important supplementary data for the history of a confusing and little-known period. The exact significance to be attached to this fresh information must be admitted to be doubtful—at any rate, until it has been dealt with by more competent scholars than myself. I have ventured, however, to offer a tentative explanation of these new data in

the hope that it may go at least some way to elucidate the matter.

The first coin is to be assigned to the Buwayhid dynasty, and appears to have been issued by 'Imad al Din Abu Kalinjar Marzban in 428 H. at the mint Medinat al Salam. Its legends, which are in characters of an extremely "caligraphic" type, run as follows:—

Obverse: area—

فتح
لا لله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
الاملم القايم بامر الله
امير المومنين

Margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بمدينة السلام
سنة ثمان و عشرين و اربع مائة

Reverse: area—

الله
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه واله :
الملك العدل
شاهانشاه
ابو كالنجار

Margin: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين
الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

The characters at the end of the third and fourth lines of the legend on the reverse area (*viz.* : :) have not been accounted for. *Weight*, about 59½ grains. *Diameter*, slightly over 1.1 inches.

The second coin belongs to the 'Okaylid ruler, Mu'tamid al Daulah, and was struck at 'Akbara in 428 H. The legends, which are in characters similar to those of the first coin, read as follows :—

Obverse: area— سلطان الامرا
لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له
معتمد الدوله
ناصر الدين

Inner margin:— بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم بعكبارا
سنه ثمان و عشرين و اربع مائة

Outer margin:— لله الامر من قبل ومن بعد و يومئذ يفرح
المؤمنون بنصر الله
(Koran, xxx., 3-4)

The inner margin is much worn, and is broken into in one place and corroded in another. Dr. Codrington, however, found sufficient lettering to give a clue to the text.

Reverse: area— لله
محمد رسول الله
صلى الله على واليه
القايم بامر الله
امير المؤمنين

*Inner margin:—*This is divided into four spaces, separated by conventional scrolls. Starting from the top leftwards, I believe the spaces to contain the following: (1) ملك الملوك, i.e.,

King of Kings; (2) شاهانشاه;
 (3) (?) جلال الدولة, *i.e.*, Jalal al
 Dawlah; (4) (?) ابو طاهر, *i.e.*, Abu
 Tahir (the name of Jalal al Dawlah).

The words in this margin are not easily deciphered, and were not read by Dr. Codrington. Further study of the coin, however, subsequent to his examination, has led me to think the above readings substantially correct. On a dirhem of Abu Sinan Gharib Seyful Dawlah (an ally and vassal of Jalal al Dawlah) we find the name ابو طاهر and the titles شاهانشاه and الملك (not, be it noted, as yet ملك الملوك). This coin was struck at 'Akbara in 422 H. Mu'tamid, also a nominal vassal of Jalal, appears to have occupied 'Akbara at a later date, and to have acknowledged the supremacy of the Buwayhid on his coins in the same way as Abu Sinan had done.

Outer margin.—Too worn and broken to be deciphered.

The letters visible suggest a Koranic text, very possibly that found on the reverse margin of the Buwayhid coin.

Weight, 85 grains. *Diameter*, slightly over 1·1 inches.

In connection with these legends, the following points are noteworthy: (1) the date and mint of the Buwayhid piece; (2) the designation of the Abu Kalinjar as Shah-in-Shah; (3) the title سلطان الامرا on the obverse of the Okaylid piece; (4) the titles on the inner margin of the reverse of the same. A remarkable coincidence is the fact that both coins not only belong to the reign of the Khaliph Al Kaim bi-amri-Allah (422–467 H.), but also bear exactly the same date—428 H. The one specimen of Mu'tamid's coinage in the British Museum lacks a date, but bears the name of the preceding

Khaliph, Al Kadir, as also that of Baha al Daulah the Buwayhid, and must therefore be dated between 388 H. and 403 H. The Museum has no specimen representing 'Imad al Din.

For the better comprehension of the possible significance of the legends on these two coins a brief sketch of the relations between the 'Okaylid and Buwayhid houses is necessary. The founder of the latter family was "the chief of a war-like clan of the highlanders of Daylam" (S. Lane-Poole, "Mahomedan Dynasties"), who was reputed a descendant of the ancient kings of Persia. On the break-up of the Abbasid empire, which ensued in the 9th century A.D., the Samanid power, founded by the Persian noble Saman, emerged pre-eminent, but like that of most oriental dynasties remained unchallenged for little more than a generation. The Ziyarid prince, Mardawij, rendered himself independent of the Samanids and appropriated a considerable portion of their western territories, notably Ispahan and Hamadhan. To him Buwayh, renouncing his allegiance to the Samanids, attached himself and obtained the government of Karaj. The son of Buwayh, 'Imad al Daulah Abu'l Hassan 'Ali, extended the territorial possessions of his family by the seizure of Ispahan and other districts on the Persian borders. With the help of his two brothers, Mu'izz al Daulah and Rukn al Daulah, 'Ali next took Shiraz, and the three then working westward entered Baghdad in 334 H., and reduced the Khaliph to complete political dependence. Though themselves shiahs, the Buwayhids were content to allow the head of the Mahomedan world to retain a religious supremacy, provided that they secured for themselves the administration of his temporal authority and the

actual occupation of his territorial dominions. Of the families of the elder brothers, though to Mu'izz the Khaliph had granted the rank of Amir al Umara, and though 'Ali appears to have been the leading spirit in the confederacy, little or nothing is heard in subsequent generations. From Rukn al Daulah, the youngest, the family branched off in several lines, each apparently inheriting as its own some particular portion of the Khaliph's dominions, and each striving to obtain as much more as the weakness of the parallel branches and its own strength would permit.

The grandson of Rukn al Daulah was Baha al Daulah, who united under his sway the provinces of Kirman, 'Irak, Ahwaz and Fars. The eldest son of Baha was Sultan al Daulah, who became the father of 'Imad al Din Abu Kalinjar Marzban. The youngest son of Baha was named Jalal al Daulah. The latter was proclaimed in 416 H. successor to his brother Musharrif, the deceased prince of 'Irak. Jalal, however, was a weak man, and the country was in so disturbed a state that he did not actually occupy his capital, Baghdad, till 418 H. In the meantime his nephew, Imad al Din, who in 415 H. had become ruler of Fars, had been strengthening his own position, so that in 419 H. he was able to annex Kirman. 'Imad appears to have had ambitions, and the fact that he was the son of Jalal's eldest brother no doubt gave him in his own eyes a superior claim to what had belonged to his grandfather, Baha al Daulah, and in part to his father. Moreover, 'Irak was, so to say, the metropolitan province of the empire, and its possession carried with it the control of the Khaliph, and at least a nominal supremacy over his dominions. Given, then, weakness in the *de facto* ruler Jalal, it was only to be expected that 'Imad would advance pretensions to his

place and power, and would endeavour to enforce them when and as opportunity offered.

The situation, however, is complicated by the intervention of a third party, the 'Okaylid prince Mu'tamid al Daulah Kirwash (391-442 H.). The Banu 'Okayl was a branch of an important Arab clan that had emigrated from Arabia and settled in Bahrayn. Being driven thence they descended upon 'Irak and Mesopotamia, where they became, in the 4th century (H.), the subjects of the Hamdanid princes. This dynasty had acquired considerable territories in Syria and Mesopotamia, their two chief seats being Mosil and Aleppo, where, under the brothers Nasir al Daulah and Seif al Daulah, their prestige reached its acme. Success naturally brought the Hamdanids into collision with the rising power of the Buwayhids. In 367 H. 'Adud al Daulah, the Buwayhid ruler of Fars and Kirman, took Mosil and drove the Hamdanid Abu Taghlib from Mesopotamia. The fall of the Hamdanids paved the way for the rise of the 'Okaylid chief Abu-l-Dhawwad Mohammad, who, after a perfidious alliance with the brothers of Abu Taghlib, deserted them and seized Mosil for himself. Abu-l-Dhawwad hastened to acknowledge the supremacy of the Buwayhid sovereign Baha al Daulah, who despatched a representative to Mosil. His submission, whether genuine or not, availed the 'Okaylid little, for in 381 Baha, evidently unwilling to permit the erection of a power so nearly independent in such close proximity, sent an army against Mosil and captured it. In 386 H. the chieftainship of the 'Okaylids passed to Mukallad, who regained Mosil, and, on condition of paying tribute and acknowledging his supremacy, was confirmed in possession by Baha al Daulah, who was occupied in

defending himself against his brother Samsam. Mukallad was assassinated in 391 H. by his Turkish guards, and was succeeded by Mu'tamid al Daulah Kirwash.

Mu'tamid entered upon an inheritance by no means peaceful. Not only had he to protect himself against the Buwayhids, who appear to have been always anxious to regain direct possession of Mosil, but in addition he was compelled to meet the rivalry of a hostile branch of his own family, at the head of which was Abu Sinan Gharib. In 411 H. the latter, in combination with Nur al Daulah Dubays, a neighbouring chief, and aided (presumably with Buwayhid connivance) by troops from Baghdad, attacked and captured Mu'tamid. Gharib indeed released his kinsman, but the allies seized and held the city of Takrit. In 417 H. Mu'tamid's own brother, Badran, joined another confederacy against him. This was headed by two other 'Okaylids, and Mu'tamid was only saved by the assistance of his former foe Gharib. An indecisive battle, followed by a theatrical reconciliation of the chief contending parties, closed the episode.

It was shortly after these events that Jalal al Daulah, the Buwayhid, came to Baghdad; for his times and circumstances he was singularly ill-suited, yet singularly long-lived. Unable to compel even the Khaliph to his will, he could not control his own janissaries, much less intervene with effect in the welter of rivalries and conflicts around him. We find him struggling with Nur al Daulah Dubays, the Asadi chief, in 420 H., and with the 'Okaylid Rafia' in 421 H. The latter was in command of the town of Takrit, a place much desired by his cousin, Abu Sinan Gharib. Rafia' allied himself with Mu'tamid, and Gharib sought the help of the Buwayhid

lord paramount. The two 'Okaylids defeated Jalal and Gharib, and consequently the ownership of Takrit remained unchanged. In 423 H. the Turkish guards of Jalal rose and drove him out of Baghdad. He fled to 'Akbara, then in possession of Gharib, and after a sojourn of 43 days was permitted to return to his capital. In 425 H. his powerful vassal and protector Gharib died, and in 427 H. another outbreak again forced the luckless Jalal to leave Baghdad. This time he sought refuge with Gharib's cousin Rafia' at Takrit. Rafia' dying later in the year, Jalal, on the receipt of 80,000 dinars, confirmed his nephew Khamis in the succession. The deaths of Rafia' and Gharib left the field clear for Mu'tamid Kirwash. He appears to have resolved to recover the towns held by the rival branch of his house, and to do this if possible without prejudice to his loyalty to the Buwayhid overlord. Probably he looked on Jalal as likely to become a useful tool, and hoped to establish an influence with him similar to that enjoyed by Abu Sinan Gharib. That he was successful in his attempt on 'Akbara is shown by our coin, which also proves his nominal loyalty to Jalal al Daulah. Takrit, however, was another matter; here Jalal appears to have been pledged to support Khamis, and when Mu'tamid made his attack he was repelled by the combined forces of Jalal and Khamis.

We can also discern other reasons inducing Mu'tamid not to break with Jalal al Daulah. During this period Imad al Din Abu Kalinjar would seem to have been extending and consolidating his power in the East. He had, however, taken no part in Western affairs. But by 423 H. he appears to have come to the conclusion that his increased power required higher titles of dignity,

and accordingly he demanded from the Khaliph a grant of the *laqab*, Sultan al 'Azam, Malik al Umara, a title reserved for the Khaliph himself. Al Kaim, the new Khaliph, of course refused this extravagant request, but granted the title of Malik al Daulah. Hitherto the career of 'Imad al Din between this event and his accession to the throne of 'Irak on the death of Jalal in 435 has been wrapped in obscurity. The discovery, however, of the first of the two coins dealt with in this article now enables us to hazard conjectures at any rate for one year of this period. It is dated 428 H. and purports to have been minted at Medinat al Salām, *i.e.*, Baghdad, the capital of the empire. Hence, judging from the general political conditions and from the known incapacity of Jalal al Daulah, we may suppose that, upon the second expulsion of the latter from Baghdad in 427 H., 'Imad al Din determined to assert his own claims to the headship of the Buwayhid family and to the control of the Khaliph's dominions. Whether he actually came in person to Baghdad and there asserted his pretensions cannot be definitely stated, but from the data supplied by the coin under reference we may infer that in token of his supremacy he was at least able to have coins minted at Baghdad and to assume the title of Shahin-Shah. This honour was one that, perhaps in virtue of their reputed descent from the Great Kings of ancient Persia, commended itself to the Buwayhids in a peculiar degree. Nevertheless it was by its very nature not a title that each and every ruling prince in that family could assume as a matter of course. Its assumption implied either a right or a challenge. The right belonged to the just head of the house: the challenge might issue from such kinsman as conceived his right superior to

that of the *de facto* chief, or relied for his justification upon the extent and quality of his power and resources. The relationship between the various sections of the Buwayhid family seems not very unlike that which connected the different branches of the Talpur Mirs of Sind in the 18th and 19th centuries A.D. Just as each Talpur chief, whether at Khairpur or Mirpur Khas, maintained his own petty court, and worked, fought and intrigued for his own advantage, yet in theory and occasionally in the larger questions of practical politics admitted the ascendancy of the Hyderabad ruler, the Mirunjo Mir, so among the Buwayhids the ruler of 'Irak appears to have been generally the recognised head of the family, both as controller of the capital and of the Khaliph, and as usually the representative of the senior branch of the stock. Hence the assumption of the title Shahin-Shah by a Buwayhid who was not a ruler of 'Irak could only mean that the pretender disputed the right of the *de facto* holder to it, and intended sooner or later to enforce his own claims to the headship.

The attitude of Mu'tamid Kirwash towards 'Imad al Din would not be difficult to guess. It was little to his interest that an ambitious and capable prince, backed by the power of possibly all Persia, should replace the feckless Jalal in Baghdad. Consequently we should expect that, at least until the might of 'Imad al Din proved insuperable, Mu'tamid would favour and support Jalal al Daulah. The inscriptions on the second of our two coins appear to confirm this expectation. At the very time that 'Imad al Din was challenging Jalal al Daulah for the supremacy and had perhaps gained a temporary hold of his capital, we find Mu'tamid vindicating in his coinage the right of Jalal to the supreme title.

and acknowledging him as paramount, with no reference whatever to the pretender. For once the claims of interest coincided with the obligations of duty, and in such a case Mu'tamid was not the man to hold back. Indeed his loyalty appears almost excessive, for, combined with the title *Shahin-Shah*, occurs on this same coin the parallel designation *Malik al Malūk*, which in 429 H. Jalal was to beg from the Khaliph and almost to be refused. Mu'tamid, aware probably in 428 H. of Jalal's desire for this dignity, seemingly thought that he might anticipate the Khaliph's sanction. In so doing he erred, for Al Kaim (who quite possibly preferred 'Imad al Din to Jalal al Daulah on the ground that a strong master is better than a foolish one) at first refused Jalal's request, and eventually referred the case to a committee of jurists who after much dispute decided in favour of the grant. There is little doubt too that Mu'tamid was playing for his own hand. He recovered 'Akbara and also obtained for himself the new and unheard-of title "*Sultan al Umara*" (presumably the Khaliph wished to conciliate the strong men on both sides); and, in order perhaps not to arouse the suspicion and jealousy of Jalal, he seems to have sought to compensate on his coins for his own increased dignity by conferring brevet rank, so to say, on his overlord.

Whether Mu'tamid was called upon to attest his somewhat clamant loyalty by deeds, and whether 'Imad al Din and Jalal al Daulah settled their quarrel by an appeal to arms, we cannot say. The veil of history drops and does not lift again, so far as Abu Kalinjar is concerned, until the death of Jalal in 435 H. and 'Imad's own accession to the throne which he had challenged some seven years earlier. That he had not been successful in that

challenge (as we must apparently infer was the case) may very probably have been due to the fact that it was premature, and that disturbances in his own dominions prevented him from reaping more permanent benefits from the temporary advantage which he appears to have gained.

[For the main facts of the above sketch I am indebted to an article by Mr. H. C. Kay on the Banu 'Okayl in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, Oct. 1886, vol. xviii., part iv., and to Mr. S. Lane-Poole's "Mahomedan Dynasties." The statement *re* the request of 'Imad al Din for a new title in 423 is due to a note furnished by Mr. Amedroz through Dr. Codrington. I am specially indebted to the latter for help with the inscriptions.]

J. G. COVERNTON.

NOTICES OF RECENT NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance. Von Cornelius von Fabriczy. Mit 181 Abbildungen. (Monographien des Kunstgewerbes IX.). Seemann, Leipzig, [1903].

Herr von Fabriczy's work is of considerably more importance to the study of Italian medals than would naturally be expected of a volume of little more than 100 pages dealing in a popular way with the medallistic art of Italy during the whole of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is difficult to conceive how the origin and development of the art during this period could have been more clearly and effectively stated in a way intelligible to the person of artistic tastes who is without special training in numismatics. But the monograph is more than such a statement. It gathers up in a convenient form a good deal of new material, discovered since the appearance of Heiss and Friedländer's works, but scattered in various periodicals which, it is to be feared, seldom meet the eye of numismatists, at least in this country. I propose here to indicate some of the more important and interesting features of Herr von Fabriczy's work. We may pass over the introductory portion, which of course owes much to the well-known article by von Schlosser in the Vienna *Jahrbuch* on the oldest medals and the antique. Under Pisanello, we meet with Venturi's attribution to this artist of the remarkable plaques with the portrait of Leone Battista Alberti; of these, the author accepts the attribution to Pisanello only for the specimen in the Louvre, reserving his reasons for rejecting the others. The portrait is so fine that we would gladly accept its attribution to the greatest of all medallists; but it will be hard to prove that its resemblance in style to the signed medals is more than superficial. The whole feeling of the piece, and the modelling of the features, are surely different from anything else known to be by Pisanello; it is the work of a sculptor rather than of a medallist. But it will be interesting to see the author's views developed at

greater length. The medallist who generally ranks next to Pisanello, Matteo de' Pasti, fares rather ill at Herr von Fabriczy's hands. True, he is a bad second to Pisanello, but the man who could produce the medals of Guarino and of Isotta da Rimini, and the view of the Castle of Rimini on the reverse of the medal of Sigismondo Malatesta, is a genius of high order. The Castle of Rimini is without doubt the finest representation of any architectural subject—no easy task—in the whole range of medallic art, and it is unfortunate that it is omitted from the illustrations in this volume. Matteo de' Pasti is however the only important artist in whose case we feel that the writer's appreciation is anything but just, although perhaps he is inclined to overrate the merits of Cristoforo di Geremia's Alfonso I. of Naples. Sperandio meets with most appropriate criticism. By a quaint misprint he is described (p. 42) as "der furchtbarste der Quattrocento-medailleure." At first sight, the epithet seems, in the sense of *δεινóτατος*, most admirably to describe this exceedingly clever artist, with his showy, unrefined, and not over-scrupulous artistic method. It is disappointing to have to conclude that it is but a misprint for "fruchtbarste." In the matter of misprints we may note that on p. 43 Marescotti is twice called Marescalco. So much for questions of general criticism. Of new or comparatively new attributions, some are due to the author himself. One of the most plausible is that of the Magdalena Mantuana medal and others to L'Antico. Bode has attributed to Gian Cristoforo Romano the medals of Alfonso d'Este, his wife Lucrezia Borgia, and a lady named Jacopa Correggia. The first and the third of these attributions are much less attractive than the second. To the same artist the writer attributes the medal of the young Cardinal Domenico Grimani with the figures of Theology and Philosophy, hitherto assigned to Gambello. Another plausible attribution gives the medals of Tomaso Rangone to Alessandro Vittoria. The coronation medal of Pope Alexander VI., classed by Friedländer with the works of Caradosso, is assigned with greater probability to Francia. The interesting medal of Federico Montefeltre, by Paolo da Ragusa, is shown to belong to about 1450. It represents him with his nose still unbroken. The medal of Alfonso of Calabria is taken away from Guazzalotti and given to Bertoldo di Giovanni, to whom Bode had already attributed the Pazzi and other medals. Antonio Pollajuolo is thus erased from the list of known Italian medallists, and the same fate befalls Michelozzo. On the other hand, we are

provided with a new medallist in the sculptor Adriano Fiorentino, a pupil of Bertoldo. To him are assigned the medal of Degenhart Pfeffinger, that of the crown prince Ferdinand, afterwards Ferdinand II., of Naples, with a W on the hat, the Urania medal of Gioviano Pontano, a medal of Cardinal Raffael Riario, and the well-known medals of Elisabetta Montefeltre, Duchess of Urbino, and of Emilia Pio. There is documentary evidence that he made the last two medals in 1495; the other attributions are based on stylistic grounds.


We have said enough to show that no one interested in Italian medals can afford to neglect Herr von Fabriczy's book. The process illustrations are plentiful, and in most cases good of their kind; but it is unfortunate that the publishers should not have found it possible to make them all on the same scale as the originals. It is not always justifiable to enlarge coins and medals; but in no case can their reduction be defended, except on the ground of economy.

G. F. HILL.

MISCELLANEA.

ANCIENT BRITISH COINS OF VERULAMIUM AND CUNOBELINUS.—Mr. William Ransom, F.S.A., possesses two ancient British coins in copper recently found in the neighbourhood of Sandy, Bedfordshire.

The first is of Verulamium, of the type of Evans, Pl. XIII., 8, and XXI., 8.

Obv. Convex. Wide-spread beardless head in profile to the right, in front , the whole within a beaded circle.

Rev. Concave. Seated figure to the left, much as on Pl. XXI., 8, but the exergue not visible.

Æ 24½ grains.

This coin is of much interest as having the obverse perfectly preserved. Several specimens of the type are already known, but though the VER in the exergue of the reverse proved them to have been issued from the mint of Verulamium, the legend on the obverse was shrouded in mystery. And now that we have this well-preserved specimen, as to the legend, on which there is no room for

doubt, our knowledge can hardly be said to be increased. What seems to be a legend is in fact a meaningless zigzag, consisting of seven and a half repetitions of the letter V or of an Λ without the bar. The question arises whether, after all, this is an original coin of Verulamium or a somewhat barbarous reproduction of one. In my collection is a specimen showing the beaded circle in front of the upper part of the face, but with no legend whatever inside the circle. On another example in the same collection there are traces of a legend, the letters of which seem to vary, and not to present the unbroken uniformity exhibited on the coin now described. We must wait for further discoveries before the question as to the original legend can be regarded as definitely solved.

The second coin is of Cunobelinus.

Obv. Convex. CA(MV). An ear of bearded corn.

Rev. Concave. (U)V(NO). Horse prancing to the left.
Æ 72½ grains.

A specimen of this type is engraved in Evans, Pl. XIII., 4. The coin belongs to a class of which several examples are known. Like the gold coins of Cunobelinus, they usually have the horse turned to the right instead of to the left. They seem to be ancient imitations of the gold coins and not legitimately to belong to the copper coinage, which consisted of pieces both smaller and lighter. Taylor Combe indeed mentions one of these pieces as having been formerly gilt and with the gold still adhering in places.

J. E.

AN UNPUBLISHED, OR UNIQUE HALF-CROWN OF CHARLES I.—FROM THE EXETER MINT.—It is with pleasure that I can report to the Numismatic Society the existence of one more variety of the beautiful and very rare Truncheon half-crown of Charles I., from the Exeter mint; which I believe is unique in its variety.

The king is here represented with a three-quarter face, and with a truncheon in his right hand, and riding on a horse which is curvetting or capering, but not over arms as in Hawkins No. 1; and inasmuch as he is holding in his right hand a truncheon or baton, instead of a sword, it differs from the horse-capering specimens of Hawkins, Nos. 2 and 3 of his list, and 488 of Plate XII. The significance apparently intended by the peculiarities of this device would seem to be that the king is holding out the baton of

sovereignty, without trampling triumphantly over hostile arms. The legend also differs slightly from the other known Truncheon varieties and reads—*Obv.* CAROLVS · D : G : MAG · BRIT · FRAN · ET · HIB · REX ; and *Rev.* CHRISTO ꝛ AVSPICE ꝛ REGNO (observe the marks which divide the words of the legend, and which differ from those on other Truncheon half-crowns). The reverse type is a shield of the parallelogram or square-oval shape characteristic of Exeter coins, and has the letters C · R · at its sides, with a lis over its top. The mint mark on both obverse and reverse is a rose—that on the obverse being much smaller than the one on the reverse—and the rose is not accompanied with pellets on its sides. It is probable that this coin was struck as a pattern, but in the striking the die seems to have been cracked, as a small flaw appears near one of the horse's legs, and this no doubt stopped its issue. The coin here described is in my collection, and is in very fine condition, and weighs just under 10 dwts.

The late Mr. J. B. Bergne in 1849 (*Num. Chron.*, vol. xii., page 68) called attention to two unpublished Exeter half-crowns of Charles I. with Truncheon, which are in the British Museum, and remarked that they were probably unique varieties. As regards one of them, which has the date, 1644, at the end of legend, instead of 1642, which is usually in a small compartment below the shield on the Truncheon type—he was mistaken in thinking it was unique, for there is another specimen with this type and date, 1644, in my collection, which was formerly in the Marsham and Montagu collections.

JONATHAN RASHLEIGH.

THE MUGHAL MINTS IN INDIA.—In his interesting paper on "Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors" (*Num. Chron.*, 1902, pp. 275 *et seq.*), Mr. M. Longworth Dames gives a list of mints added since the publication of the British Museum Catalogue. There are some errors and omissions in this list which appear worthy of note, as the list is the latest published.

Page 278.—Etāwā should be struck out under Farrukh Siyar, and 'Azimābād under Ahmad Shah, as these mints were published in the B. M. C.

Of the mints added by Mr. Dames from the coins in his paper the following have been already published :—

Aurangzeb	Katak (in copper, Lahore Museum).
Bahadur Shah	Ahmadābād (Dr. Taylor, <i>Coins of</i>

Ahmadābād, J.R.A.S. (Bombay Branch), vol. xx.).

- Jahandar Etāwā (Lucknow Museum, Report 1901-2).
 Farrukh Siyar . . . Ahmadābād (Dr. Taylor's paper), Baraili (Lahore Museum).

The following mints published since the B. M. C. was issued should be added.

- Akbar Satgaon (doubtful), Kashmīr, Mānikpur, Nagar, Khairpur, Iqlīm Jalālābād, Chatarkot, Ahmadnagar, Salemgarh-Ajmir.
 Jahangir Udaipur, Narnol, Dogām, and Urdu dar rāh i Dakhin.
 Shah Jahan Ajmir, Udaipur, Aurangnagar, Patan Deo, Zafarabad, Zafarnagar, and Fathpur.
 Aurangzeb Bairāta, Malikanagar, and Hāfizabad.
 Jahandar Aurangabad, Patna and Kabul.
 Rafi-ud-darjāt . . . Dr. Taylor has pointed out that Zinat-ul-bilād is the title of Ahmadābād.
 Shah Jahan II. . . . Ahmadābād.
 Muhammad Shah . . . Ujain, Bhakhar, and Kabul.
 Ahmad Shah. . . . Ahmadābād and Peshawar.
 Alamgir II. . . . Ahmadābād, Jaipur and Mah Indar-pur.
 Shah Alam Islāmābād, Elichpur, Baroda, Bindrāban, Bhakhar, Chachrauli, Kachrauli, Kānān, Gangpur and Khārpur.
 Akbar II. . . . Gwalior.

Mr. Dames also repeats the late Mr. C. J. Rodger's reading of Dar-ul-barat Kāndī. I have not seen the coin, but imagine it must read Dar-ul-barkāt Nāgpur.

There are several inaccuracies in the map, which appear worth correcting. Audh (Ajodhya) is on the south, not the north bank of the Ghāgra. Dogām is east, not west of Bahraich. Bairāt should be near Alwar, not north of Sahāranpur. Qamarnagar is surely Karnūl in South India, not Karnāl in the Punjāb.

Regarding the identifications on pp. 281-2, I would point out that Akbarpur in the Fyzabad district of Oudh has some claim to be taken as the mint town. I have a rupee

of Shah Alam II. of the Islāmābād mint on which Mathura also occurs. This does not prove that the Islāmābād of the other coins was also Mathura, but may be considered an argument in its favour. In the Report of the Lucknow Museum for 1900-1901 it was pointed out that Mustafābād is probably Rampur, the chief town in the native state in Rohilkhand. The dates on the coins of this mint, of which I have seen several, all belong to the period when the Rohillas were in power.

Mr. Dames does not show the position of Mominābād on the map, but I have a rupee of Shah Alam with the mint name Mominābād-Bindrāban, though some writers have taken Mominābād in the Deccan as the mint-town. There will be several additions to be made in the lists of Mughal mints when the catalogue of the Lucknow Museum is complete, and there are other novelties in the collection of Mr. H. Nelson Wright and in my own.

R. BURN.

VII.

NOTES ON SOME PHOCIAN OBOLS.

(See Plate V.)

SOME time ago I acquired a number of these small coins, which came, I was informed, from a recent find in Central Greece, in company with other obols and triobols of Phocis and many Athenian tetradrachms of the "refined archaic" type, *i.e.* of the period B.C. 525-430. Several of the obols now in my possession do not appear to be represented in our National Collection, and it may therefore be of interest to record them, with a few notes on their individual peculiarities, which consist not of any actual novelty in the types but of the wide diversity of their treatment and of the variations exhibited in both style and inscription.

No. 1.—B.C. 550-480 (early).

Obv. Bull's head facing, of archaic style; the horns straight; forelock shown by circles.

Rev. Forepart of boat to r.; both forelegs shown, one extended, the other bent; in incuse square.

R. Obol. Wt. 18 grs. (Pl. V. 1.)

No. 2.

Obv. Similar, but that the horns are shorter.

Rev. Same.

(Pl. V. 2.)

No coins of the same early style appear to have been noticed. They are carelessly struck, of irregular shape and uninscribed, and the treatment of both obverse and reverse shows all the signs of an early period of art. This is especially noticeable on the reverse, which has a boar of a thin type that differs materially from the thickset, sturdy animal that took its place and is found on all later issues: it is also very conventional in treatment and so arranged as to fill the entire field, showing the "horror vacui" that characterises early art.

These coins are, of course, later than those of the first known issue of B.C. 600-550, which have the bull's head with curved horns and the rough incuse reverse. Equally they should precede the inscribed coins with the bull's head of strong massive style and the reverse type of the thickset boar which in the *British Museum Catalogue, Phocis*, are given, tentatively, to the period B.C. 480-421.

No obols have hitherto been definitely given to the intermediate period B.C. 550-480, but Mr. Head (*B. M. Catalogue, Phocis*, p. xxv.), in assigning to this period before the Persian wars the earliest inscribed coins—triobols—remarks that "it is probable that many of the smaller denominations described under the next period" (i.e. those with the bull's head of strong massive style and inscribed) "may belong to this."

That they do so belong I feel certain, as they not only harmonise well with the triobols mentioned, but would also have supplied the necessary small coinage, and I would therefore suggest that in the earlier years of the period B.C. 550-480 belong such obols as are described, and that in the later years the coins with

the bull's head of early massive style, such as is found on the two following obols:—

No. 3.—B.C. 550–480 (late).

Obv. Bull's head facing, of massive style; the forelock shown by circles.

Rev. Forepart of boar to l.; one foreleg only shown, extended; in front Φ ; all in incuse square.

Æ. Obol. Wt. 12 grs. [Pl. V., 3.]

So far as I can ascertain the British Museum does not contain a piece of similar style or like arrangement of types. Both obverse and reverse show exceptional vitality of design and execution, the reverse especially so. The type of the boar travelling to the left is an uncommon variety.

No. 4.—B.C. 550–480 (late).

Obv. Bull's head facing, of massive style; the forelock shown by lines: at sides Φ — O.

Rev. Forepart of boar to r.; one foreleg shown, extended; in incuse square.

Æ. Obol. Wt. 15 grs. [Pl. V., 4.]

I have included this obol on account of the very unusual treatment of the eyebrows of the bull. At first sight it appears that this is due to a curious flaw in the die,¹ as it is unnatural to find the eyebrows carried straight down, instead of round, and then united over the nasal bone, but there are no traces of the usual double or triple concentric lines round the eye, nor are they carried round as on other coins of this similar, and I

am therefore inclined to regard it as an attempt at novelty of treatment.

No. 5.—B.C. 480–421. LILAEA.

Obv. Bull's head facing, of late massive style; the forelock shown by circles; above Λ — I.

Rev. Forepart of boar to r.; both forelegs shown, one extended, the other bent; in incuse square.

R. Obol. Wt. 15 grs. [Pl. V., 5.]

This coin, which is of rather indifferent workmanship, is unpublished and may, as is indicated by the inscription (which, though marred by faulty striking, is quite distinct), be assigned to Lilaea, an important Phocian town, of which the following coins have already been noted:—

(a) *Obv.* Tête de bœuf de face.

Rev. Λ devant une tête de femme à droite, de style archaïque, ceinte d'une bandelette et d'un collier perlé; carré creux.

R. Triobol. Wt. 2·88 grms.²

(Imhof-Blumer, *Monn. Grec.*, p. 150.)

(b) *Obv.* Bull's head facing.

Rev. Λ Head of Apollo to r.; the whole in flat sunk square.

R. Triobol. Size 2½.

(H. P. Borrell, *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 100.)

A bronze coin with the inscription Λ — I.

(H. P. Borrell, *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 100.)

A bronze coin with the inscription Λ — I.

(H. P. Borrell, *Num. Chron.*, 1891, p. 100.)

Of these the first only would appear to be contemporary with the obol now mentioned, and it is interesting to note that, though the coins of the individual Phocian cities are rarely to be met with, the few examples known cover nearly every period of the coinage.

The town of Lilaea was situated near Parnassus, at the source of the river Cephissus, and received its name from the daughter of the river-god. Strabo refers to it (*Phocis*, iii. 16), as does Pausanias, who calls it about a day's journey from Delphi. It is twice mentioned by Homer (*Iliad*, ii. 453 and 523), and appears to have escaped the common fate of the Phocian towns at the hands of Xerxes, though the close of the Sacred War saw it razed to the ground. It was subsequently rebuilt, and suffered siege at the hands of Philip, son of Demetrius (Paus. x. 23). That it was a place of some account may be gathered from the description of its buildings, which included a theatre, baths, an agora and temples of Apollo and Artemis, with statues of Attic workmanship.

No. 6.—B.C. 480-421.

Obv. Bull's head facing, of late massive style; the forelock shown by lines; between the eyes a star; above
O — O

Rev. Forepart of boat to r.; both forelegs shown, one extended, one bent in incuse square.

M. G. 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

A coin with a different reverse, but with almost similar obverse is to be seen in the British Museum (*B. M. Cat.*, *Coins*, No. 49); the difference is in the design of the reverse, which is a different animal, and the inscription is different.

ment or decoration like the fillets found on later coins. On certain coins of Polyrrhenium in Crete (*B. M. Cat.*, pl. xvi.) an obviously artificial star or rosette is found on the bull's head, which is also filleted; but here the mark appears more natural, as it also does on two coins of Eretria in Euboea (*B. M. Cat.*, Nos. 13 and 14; pl. xxii., 5 and 6), though in their case the rays of the star are curved.

It may be of interest to note that the bull's head on the Eretrian coins is attributed (*B. M. Cat.*, *Central Greece*, p. 1.) to the worship of Artemis Amarynthia, and in referring to the coinage of Polyrrhenium, Mr. Wroth (*B. M. Cat.*, *Crete*, p. xxix.) remarks that "at Polyrrhenium the Cretan Artemis was venerated as Diktynna." It is allowed that the female head on the triobols and the boar on the obols indicate the worship of Artemis, and it seems possible on the analogy of the Polyrrhenian and Euboean coins that the bull's head may have the same intention (the horns, especially on the earliest coins, might well suggest a lunar symbolism); the sacrificial and symbolic sides being thus combined.² On the other hand, we have the references to the eponymos Phokos and to the bull of Néoptolemos (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 287) and also the possibility suggested by Plutarch's statement that Theseus sacrificed the Marathonian bull to the Delphinian Apollo. The place of this last sacrifice was, of course, the Delphinion at Athens, dedicated in the joint names of Apollo and Artemis (Pausanias, *l.c.*), and with a special maiden sacrifice to Artemis.

² In the *Numismata* on "Samos and Samos," p. 10, the Professor Gerhart, who is sceptical as to the worship of Artemis on Samos, and refers to the probable formation of the name of Artemis from *Artem* and *is*, and with a special maiden sacrifice to Artemis.

Delphinia (Harrison, *Ancient Athens*, p. 206). In all probability the Cretan and Marathonian bulls had a common origin (Harrison, *ibid.*, *Introduction*) and we know that "on many Cretan coins Minos slides off into the Dorian Apollo" (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 383), so that the bull's head, perhaps originating in the legend, may represent one or both of the twin divinities of Sun and Moon.

No. 7.—B.C. 480–421.

Obv. Bull's head facing, of late massive style; forelock shown by waved lines; between eyes a star; in the four corners $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{I} & \text{K} \\ \text{O} & \text{O} \end{smallmatrix}$

Rev. Forepart of boar to r.; both forelegs shown, one extended, one bent; in incuse square.

Æ. Obol. Wt. 15 grs. [Pl. V., 7.]

This is the only obol that I have met with that bears on the obverse the four-lettered inscription (as to its possible appearance on the reverse, see Nos. 11 and 12).

Like the preceding coin, No. 6, it bears the mark of the star between the bull's eyes.

No. 8.—B.C. 480–421.

Obv. Bull's head facing, of late massive style; forelock shown by circles: at sides $\Phi - (O)$.

Rev. Forepart of boar to l.; one foreleg only shown, extended; in incuse square.

Æ. Obol. Wt. 15 grs. [Pl. V., 8.]

I have included this coin, though its parallel exists in the British Museum (*Cat. Phocæ*, No. 42, pl. iii, 13), on account of the lettering which is of considerable numismatic interest as it shows the change from the Φ to the O in the legend. It is the only one with the O in the legend.

p. xxvi.) that this change first occurs on the bronze coins of the period B.C. 371-357, bearing the head of Pallas, but with all deference I think he must have overlooked the Museum specimen, as there can be no possible doubt of its earlier date, nor of that of the coin now noticed. On a triobol also, in my collection, of about B.C. 480 [Pl. V., 9], with the inscription ΦΟΚΙ, the later form is clearly shown.

The same change occurs on coins of about the same period, *i.e.* B.C. 480-400 (*B. M. Cat., Thessaly*, pl. x., Nos. 1 and 2 and 4-7), of Pherae Pelasgiotis in Thessaly, which state was continuously in contact with and a rival of Phocis. On the coins of Pharae in Boeotia the change took place between B.C. 480 and 387. The new form would therefore seem to have been introduced in Phocis and the neighbouring states in the early part of the fifth century.

No. 10.—B.C. 480-421.

Obv. Bull's head facing, of late massive style; the forelock shown by waved lines: at sides O - O.

Rev. Forepart of boar to r.; both forelegs shown, extended; in incuse square.

Æ. Obol. Wt. 15.5 grs. [Pl. V., 10.]

The reverse type, the boar galloping with both forelegs outstretched, has not, I think, been published before.

No. 11.—B.C. 480-421 (late).

Obv. Bull's head facing, of late style.

Rev. Forepart of boar to l.; one foreleg shown, extended; above, in l. corner, indistinct letter or symbol; below, in r. corner I (?).

Æ. Obol. Wt. 16 grs. [Pl. V., 11.]

The interest of this coin lies mainly in the late style of the treatment of the obverse, no example of which is in the British Museum.

The object in the field on the reverse appears to be or to have been a letter; unfortunately, it is almost illegible, though it most nearly resembles a κ . If so, it might help us with regard to the reading $\kappa\iota$ suggested for the two coins next described, the more so as possibly the head of an ι can be made out behind the boar's shoulder. Should this be the case the position of the letters would seem to eliminate the chance of the inscription $\Phi\Omega\kappa\iota$, but in view of the uncertainty of the evidence, and also of the fact that, though the obverse of our coin resembles that of No. 13, the reverse is dissimilar, I have thought it advisable to speak of Nos. 12 and 13 by themselves.

There is, of course, the alternative that the object may be a symbol, examples of which occur on the Phocian coins and are referred to under No. 14.

No. 12.—B.C. 480–421 (early). $\text{K}\iota\text{R}\rho\text{H}\text{A}$ (?).

Obv. Bull's head facing, of late massive style.

Rev. Forepart of boar to r.; one foreleg only shown, extended; below ι – κ ; all in incuse square.

\mathcal{A} . Obol. Wt. 12 grs. [Pl. V., 12.]

No. 13.—B.C. 480–421 (late). $\text{K}\iota\text{R}\rho\text{H}\text{A}$ (?).

Obv. Bull's head facing, of late style (as No. 11).

Rev. Forepart of boar to r.; one foreleg shown, extended; below ι – κ ; all in incuse square.

\mathcal{A} . Obol. Wt. 14 grs. [Pl. V., 13.]

I have bracketed these two coins together, as, though their obverses are of different periods, their reverses are

alike and bear the same inscription, and perhaps point to an addition to the growing number of those Phocian towns which struck money in their own name. Unfortunately, through faulty striking, neither is as distinct as could be desired, and, although it seems to me that the coins when taken together form a fairly complete whole, I shall be glad to know if any collector possesses such a specimen as may determine the question.

Of the two coins the older one (No. 12) reads ΚΙ very clearly in the lower part of the field, but, unfortunately, the upper portion, owing to defective striking, is missing, and a slight abrasion of the edge, where further lettering might be looked for, only adds to the difficulty.

On the later coin (No. 13) the front portion of the field is intact; in the lower part the Κ is again quite clear, and, as on No. 12, traces of the Ι are visible behind the boar's shoulder. In the front upper part it has been suggested to me that faint traces of an Ο appear, but, though this would greatly simplify the reading, I fear that I cannot decipher it myself; while the Κ and upper part of the Ι are distinct, in high relief and well away from the edge of the incuse, the assumed traces of the Ο are most irregular, exceedingly faint, and placed on the very slope of the incuse, where, if anywhere, they should have been protected from wear, and are, I think, nothing but a slight fortuitous roughness common to most of the Phocian coins. On neither coin does there appear to be any space for the Θ necessary to complete the suggested inscription. Of course, if the Ο could be clearly read there would be little doubt that the intended inscription was (Θ)ΟΚΙ, as is found on triobols of the period and on the obverse of No. 7, and though no other obols are known with the

four-lettered inscription on the reverse there is no reason why these coins may not (like No. 7) be the first examples of the reading to be made known. Failing the reading ΘOKI , which I cannot think these coins in any way bear out, it may be well to consider the alternative KI . That it is not a case of an inscription begun on one side and continued on the other (as on coins of Phlius, Larissa, Thyrraeion, Lampsacus, etc.) is clear, since the obverses are devoid of lettering. The older coin, No. 12, might possibly have been held to be a *mule*, but that the later one, No. 13, bears no sign of any inscription on the obverse, nor does the only one with a similar obverse that I know of, *i.e.* No. 11.

It seems to me more probable that we have in the letters KI the initial part of the name of another Phocian town, previously unknown as a mint, striking coins with the common federal type and its own distinguishing letters, parallels for which are found in the neighbouring Boeotia and also among the cities of the Achaean League. Coins with the letters ΛI , EA , ΛE , AN and NE (an obol, not a trihemiobol, as mentioned in the *Hist. Num.*, p. 290) have been previously assigned to the Phocian towns of Lilaea, Elatea, Ledon, Anticyra and Neon, so there is no novelty in the suggestion, and should the letters be ultimately found to read KI , a suitable attribution would be to Kirrha, the seaport of Delphi, famous in history as the cause of the first Sacred War, and as the centre for the pilgrim traffic to Delphi from the south of Greece.

While a general survey of the coins mentioned confirms the federal character of the Phocian coinage, as already pointed out by Mr. Head, and the conservatism

of its types, it will, I think, be allowed that they suggest several points of interest, and give us some further material for a knowledge of Phocian numismatics. Even the steady adherence to the old types, though somewhat monotonous, is of considerable assistance in that it enables us to see more clearly the main steps taken in the progress of art and thus to arrange the coins in a probable sequence.

The different phases of art that they exhibit and the great number of minor variations in treatment (*e.g.* that of the bull's forelock) point to an extension of the period suggested (B.C. 480-421) for the date of their issue, as the 60 years are too few to allow for the artistic progress and decline shown on the coins before us.

As already mentioned, I am disposed to place at the commencement of the period B.C. 550-480 such coins as Nos. 1 and 2, and to the later part advance the earlier obols of the "strong massive" type, as Nos. 3 and 4. To the earlier years of the next period, B.C. 480-421, appear to belong the coins of the late massive style, as Nos. 5-8, 10 and 12, and to the later years such as Nos. 11 and 13; these last I should be inclined to put even later were it not that the old form of incuse remains unchanged, and also for the presence (by report) in the hoard of the Athenian tetradrachms, the date of which agrees with the periods indicated.

No. 14.

Obv. Bull's head facing; forelock shown by circles; traces of $\odot - \odot$ at sides.

Rev. Forepart of boar to r.; both forelegs shown, extended; above, two olive leaves and berry; all in shallow incuse.

R. Obol. Wt. 12 grs. [Pl. V., 14.]

I have described this obol by itself, as it came from another source than those previously mentioned, from which it differs greatly in style. It is struck on a considerably larger and thinner *flan*, with a very shallow and almost circular incuse; the treatment also is different and of later style. The reverse type is unpublished (it is altogether different from No. 10), and gains in interest from the presence of the olive spray resembling that found on the Athenian coinage; this same symbol occurs on another but different obol in the British Museum (No. 49) of the period B.C. 480-421.

Symbols on Phocian coins are of rare occurrence, but the following are quoted in the *B. M. Catalogue*:—

No. 49.—Olive spray. Obol. B.C. 480-421.

No. 55.—Dolphin. Obol. B.C. 421-371.

No. 58.—Ivy branch. Obol. B.C. 421-371.

No. 78.—Lyre. Triobol. B.C. 357-346.

No. 87.—Laurel branch. Triobol. B.C. 357-346.

It is interesting to note that all these symbols are of an Apolline character; some, as the olive and dolphin, occur as types on the coinages of Phocis and Delphi; the ivy leaf is present on two Delphian coins in the Museum (*Cat.*, Nos. 20 and 21), and the lyre and laurel are well known in their connection with the god.

It is not easy to account for their presence; the infrequency of their appearance over so extended a period and their persistent religious character are unfavourable to the view that they may be magistrates' symbols; for the same reasons they can hardly be the mintmarks of the various federal cities, of which all the coins hitherto attributed are inscribed, and to none of which do the various symbols seem applicable—with

the possible exception of the dolphin, to Delphi, which had, however, at that period (B.C. 421-371) a coinage of its own. That the coins bearing them were struck on the various occasions when the Phocians occupied Delphi is improbable, as the majority of them belong to the period after the peace of Nikias when the "splendid isolation" of Delphi was confirmed. The theory of foreign alliances being indicated helps us no further, as, with the exception of the olive, the symbols seem unconnected with any state. The present coin⁴ might, perhaps, be an exception, as it differs so remarkably from the other Phocian coins, but I think it is more advisable to class it with the others, and, in view of the apparent references to Apollo, to regard the symbols as of religious significance either as to the place of issue (as some temple) or to the occasion, which might be that of some special festival.

NEVILLE LANGTON.

⁴ It is noteworthy how exactly the olive spray resembles that on the Athenian coinage, and there are several occasions of alliance between the two states which might have been thus recorded, *e.g.* in B.C. 448-431, etc. Samian coins bearing an olive spray have been assigned by Prof. Gardner to the period of the Athenian conquest in B.C. 439, but in the present case we have no such decisive evidence of suzerainty.

VIII.

CLASSIFICATION CHRONOLOGIQUE DES ÉMISSIONS MONÉTAIRES DE L'ATELIER DE NICOMÉDIE PENDANT LA PÉRIODE CONSTANTINIENNE.

(Voir Planches VI., VII.)

LA province de Bithynie, dans laquelle se trouvait l'atelier de Nicomédie, faisait partie des états de Galère lors de l'abdication des empereurs Dioclétien et Maximien Hercule, qui eut lieu le 1^{er} Mai 305 à Nicomédie même¹ pour Dioclétien et à Milan pour Maximien Hercule. Dans la nouvelle tétrarchie qui fut constituée avec Galère et Constance Chlore Augustes, Sévère et Maximin Daza Césars, Galère conserva l'Illyrie, la Thrace et la Bithynie,² et l'atelier de Nicomédie resta dans ses états jusqu'à sa mort en 311. La Bithynie, province voisine de celle d'Asie, avait eu le même système monétaire qu'elle sous le haut empire.³ A l'époque qui nous occupe, mais à partir de l'année 306 seulement,

¹ *Lactantii de Mortibus Persecutorum*, cap. ix. : "Cum haec essent constituta, procedit kalendis Maiis." *Eutropii brev.*, ix. 27 : "Tamen uterque una die privato habitu imperii insigne mutavit, Nicomediae Diocletianus, Herculis Mediolani." Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, 33; Zonaras, xii. 32.

² *Anonymus Valesii*, iii. 5 : "Maximino datum est orientis imperium; Galerius sibi Illyricum, Thracias et Bithyniam tenuit."

³ Mommsen, *Histoire de la Monnaie Romaine*; traduction Blacas, tome iii., p. 310.

les ateliers de Cyzique en Asie et de Nicomédie en Bithynie frappèrent le même sigle (CMH, qui indique la valeur du *folles*), sur leurs pièces de bronze. Les mêmes légendes et les mêmes types furent également inscrits et représentés sur les bronzes des deux ateliers, bien qu'ils appartenissent à deux empereurs différents, Galère et Maximin Daza.

PREMIÈRE ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'abdication de Dioclétien et de Maximien Hercule le 1^{er} Mai 305 jusqu'à l'élévation de Licinius Auguste le 11 Novembre 308.

Cette émission se divise chronologiquement en deux parties dont la première fut émise depuis l'abdication de Dioclétien et Hercule jusqu'à l'élévation de Sévère II au rang d'Auguste, qui suivit la mort de Constance Chlore, laquelle survint le 25 Juillet 306. La seconde partie de l'émission parut après l'élévation de Sévère II au rang d'Auguste.

Les grands bronzes, ou *folles*, de la première partie de cette émission sont les mêmes que ceux qui étaient frappés à la fin du règne de Dioclétien; ils pèsent en moyenne 10 grammes, et ont 25 à 26 millimètres de diamètre. Ceux de la seconde partie de l'émission n'ont qu'un diamètre moyen de 22 millimètres. Les pièces d'or sont toutes taillées sur le pied de 1/80^{me} à la livre d'or; c'est à dire qu'elles ont un poids normal de 5 gr. 45 c.⁴ Je parlerai plus loin des sigles qui se trouvent sur ces différentes pièces. L'atelier de Nicomédie n'a que deux officines ouvertes au cours de cette première émission.

⁴ E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, 1^{er} volume, p. 530.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis le 1^{er} Mai 305 jusqu'au 25 Juillet 306 et caractérisée par les pièces de Constantius I (Constance Chlore).

Exergues des pièces de bronze de la première partie de l'émission :

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMNA} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | \\ \hline \text{SMNB} \end{array}$$

Ces exergues doivent se lire "Sacra Moneta Nikomediae"; officines A et B.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—La légende GENIO . POPVLI . ROMANI, et comme type le Génie coiffé du modius, à demi nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère d'où la liqueur coule et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTIVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 102; off. B; Br. Mus.; Voetter. [Pl. VI, No. 1.]

2. IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMIANVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 81; off. A; Br. Mus.; 25 m.m.; Voetter.

3. GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . NOB . CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 81; off. B; Br. Mus.

4. FL . VAL . SEVERVS . NOB . CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 27; off. A; Voetter.

La légende *Genio Populi Romani* caractérise les émissions sorties de 305 à 308 des ateliers de Galère (*Serdica, Siscia, Nikomedia*), et de ceux de Maximin Daza (*Cyzicus, Antiochia, Alexandria*).

II. *Au revers.*—VIRTVTI . EXERCITVS . et comme type Mars, le manteau flottant, marchant à droite, portant une haste et un trophée.

Au droit.—IMP C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMIANVS . P . F .
AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 231 ;
Br. Mus. ; off. A.

Les monnaies d'abdication de Dioclétien et de Maximien Hercule, d'après les recherches de Friedrich Kenner et les miennes, n'ont pas été émises à Nicomédie, dont l'émission présente ne comprend que les pièces de Constance Chlore, Galère, Sévère, Maximin Daza, puis après la mort de Constance Chlore celles de Constantin.

PIÈCES D'OR FAISANT PARTIE DE LA PREMIÈRE
PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Ces pièces présentent à la fin de la légende du revers le sigle NK composé de deux lettres du nom de *Νικομήδεια*, ou Nikomedia.

Elles présentent toutes l'exergue $\frac{1}{SMN}$ et sont de l'espèce du 1/60^{me} à la livre d'or.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI . NK. Jupiter lauré, demi-nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté en arrière, tenant un foudre dans la main droite et appuyé de la gauche sur un sceptre.

Au droit.—1. MAXIMIANVS . AVGVSTVS. Sa tête laurée à gauche. Cohen, 374 de Hercule, attribuable à Galère ; H. Mus. V. ; 5 gr. 35 c.

2. Pièce de Constantin (voir Fr. Kenner).

II. *Au revers.*—MARTI . PATRI . NK. Mars debout à gauche, appuyé sur un bouclier et tenant une haste.

Au droit.—SEVERVS . NOB . CAES. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 55 ; coll. Trau ; 5 gr. 43 c.

III. *Au revers.*—SOLI · INVICTO · N. Le Soleil radié, debout de face, regardant à droite, le manteau déployé derrière lui, levant la droite et tenant un fouet.

Au droit.—MAXIMINVS · CAESAR. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 163 ; Br. Mus. ; H. Mus. V., No. 25097 ; coll. Trau ; 5 gr. 30 c. ; 20 m.m.

DEUXIÈME PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Frappée postérieurement à la mort de Constance Chlore le 25 Juillet 306 et à l'élévation de Sévère au rang d'Auguste et de Constantin à celui de César.

Les *folles* ou monnaies de bronze de cette partie de l'émission sont d'un pied monétaire moindre que les précédents. Ils n'ont en moyenne qu'un diamètre de 22 millimètres et un poids moyen de 7 gr. 50 c. à 8 gr. On y lit, inscrit à la fin de la légende du revers de ces espèces le sigle CMH. La coïncidence de la diminution du poids des monnaies de bronze avec l'apparition du sigle CMH a fait admettre à Friedrich Kenner que ce sigle était l'expression d'une valeur qu'il lit CMX ou 900 deniers de bronze, le signe du denier se trouvant incomplètement représenté dans le monogramme. La différence du chiffre de 900 avec celui de 600, qui est le nombre des deniers de bronze contenus dans un *aureus* ou pièce du 1/60^{me} à la livre d'or dans le système de Dioclétien, résulterait, d'après Kenner, de l'adoption à Nicomédie de poids locaux.⁵ La livre d'or en usage, ou talent, pèserait non pas 328 grammes mais 486 grammes, et contiendrait non pas 60 *aurei* ou pièces d'or mais 90 ;⁶

⁵ Friedrich Kenner, *Die ältesten Prägungen der Münzstätte Nicomedia*, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, 1894, publiée en 1895, tome xxvi., pp. 5 à 9.

⁶ De plus Kenner remarque que le poids grec, le statère, étant de 8 grammes, son 6^{me} ou Hecté de 1 gr. 35 c., 4 Hecté font un *aureus* de 5 gr. 40 c. ; et qu'il y a 90 *aurei* de 5 gr. 40 c. chaque dans une livre d'or de Nicomédie de 486 grammes.

les deniers de bronze varieraient dans la même proportion de 600 à 900 pour un *aureus*. De cette façon s'expliquerait tout à la fois le sigle inscrit sur les pièces d'or et celui qu'on lit sur les bronzes. En effet le sigle NXYXC qu'on lit sur les pièces d'or (*aurei*) se compose de N , sigle de Nikomedia déjà signalé, du chiffre 90, XC , qui indiquerait la division de la livre en *aurei*, et du sigle Y , composé d'un V et d'un L , que Kenner propose de lire *Librae Valore*. L'explication de Friedrich Kenner a l'avantage de donner une traduction très vraisemblable et complète des deux sigles de Nicomédie; c'est pourquoi elle me semble préférable aux autres explications tentées.⁷

MONNAIES DE BRONZE.

Exergues: $\frac{|}{\text{SMNA}}$ $\frac{|}{\text{SMNB}}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.— $\text{GENIO} \cdot \text{POPVLI} \cdot \text{ROMANI} \cdot \text{CMH}$. Avec le type du revers déjà décrit avec la légende *Genio Populi Romani*.

Au droit.—1. $\text{IMP} \cdot \text{C} \cdot \text{GAL} \cdot \text{VAL} \cdot \text{MAXIMIANVS} \cdot \text{P} \cdot \text{F} \cdot \text{AVG}$. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 82; collection Lichtenstein au H. Mus. V.; off. A.

2. $\text{GAL} \cdot \text{VAL} \cdot \text{MAXIMINVS} \cdot \text{NOB} \cdot \text{CAES}$. Tête analogue. Cohen, 80; off. B; Br. Mus.; Musée de Berlin; Voelter; pièces de 22 m.m.

⁷ Notamment à celle de Friedlaender dans la *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, tome ii., 1875, p. 15, à celle de Missong, même *Zeitschrift*, tome vii., 1880, pp. 251, 262, 287, qui ne tiennent compte toutes deux que d'une partie du sigle des pièces d'or; et même à celle de John Evans, (*Numismatic Chronicle*, 1886, pp. 282 et 283) qui est une hypothèse ingénieuse qui aurait besoin d'être confirmée de la réunion de deux chiffres 55 ou Y et 90 ou XC , exprimant la taille de l'*aureus* dans l'atelier de Nicomédie et son rapport à la taille romaine.

Les pièces analogues de Sévère Auguste et de Constantin n'ont pas été rencontrées jusqu'ici.

II. *Au revers*.—VIRTVTI · EXERCITVS · CMH. Avec le revers déjà décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit.—1. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMIANVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 232; Voetter; off. A.

2. GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · NOB · CAES. Tête analogue. Pièce inédite; Voetter; off. B.

PIÈCES D'OR APPARTENANT À LA SECONDE PARTIE
DE L'ÉMISSION.

Avec l'exergue

$\frac{1}{\text{SMN}}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—IOVI · CONSERVATORI · NYXC. Le type déjà décrit avec la légende *Iovi Conservatori*.

Au droit.—MAXIMIANVS · AVGVSTVS. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 375; de Hercule, attribuable à Galère; H. Mus. V.

II. *Au revers*.—HERCVLI · VICTORI · NK. Hercule nu, debout à droite, appuyé sur sa massue et tenant de la main gauche la peau de lion et cinq pommes.

Au droit.—SEVERVS · AVGVSTVS. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 50; H. Mus. V., No. 25053; 5 gr. 40 c.; Br. Mus. [Pl. VI, No. 2.]

Cette pièce démontre que le sigle NK, le plus simple des deux, continue à être inscrit sur certaines pièces d'or au cours de cette seconde partie de l'émission, tandis que le sigle NYXC l'était le plus souvent. L'on peut remarquer également que Sévère II, qui avait reçu l'héritage de Maximien Hercule, était un prince de la dynastie Herculéenne ainsi que Constantin, tandis que

Maximin Daza et Licinius, qui reçurent le pouvoir des mains de Galère, héritier de Dioclétien, et furent adoptés par lui, étaient des princes de la dynastie Jovienne.

III. *Au revers.*—SOLI . INVICTO . KYXC. Le Soleil radié, à demi nu, debout de face, regardant à droite, le manteau déployé derrière lui, levant la droite et tenant un fouet.

Au droit.—MAXIMINVS . CAESAR. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 164; FR. No. 1496; 5 gr. 20 c.; 20 m.m.; coll. Trau; 5 gr. 30 c. [Pl. VI, No. 3.]

Les effigies des Nos. 2, 3, 4 et 5 reproduisent, toutes, les traits de Galère, dans les états duquel se trouve l'atelier jusqu'en 311.⁸

IV. *Au revers.*—MARTI . PATRI . KYXC. Mars debout à gauche, en habit militaire, tenant de la main droite un bouclier à terre et appuyé de la gauche sur une haste.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . CAESAR. Sa tête laurée à droite; variété de Cohen 357; Musée de Turin; coll. Trau; 5 gr. 15 c.

La pièce de Cohen No. 357 est semblable à celle-ci, si ce n'est qu'elle ne présente à la fin de la légende du revers que le sigle le plus simple, c'est à dire le monogramme de Nicomédie seul, soit NK. Il est certain que toutes les pièces d'or de cette série se présentent avec l'un et l'autre des deux sigles indiqués.

L'on peut indiquer comme pièce barbare imitée de celles de Nicomédie et portant l'exergue $\frac{|}{MN}$ la suivante :

V. *Au revers.*—SOLVNVICTO (sic) KYXC. Avec le type déjà décrit avec la légende *Soli Invicto*.

⁸ Voir sur ces emprunts d'effigie par les empereurs du IV^{me} siècle mon article sur l'*Atelier Monétaire d'Alexandrie*, dans la *Numismatic Chronicle* de 1902, p. 124 et seq.

Au droit.—SEVTVAS (*sic*) AVGVSTVS. Sa tête laurée à droite. *Seutuas* pour *Severus*.⁹ Coll. Welzl von Wellenheim.

DEUXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis l'élévation de Licinius au rang d'Auguste à la conférence de Carnuntum le 11 Novembre 308 jusqu'à la mort de Galère qui survint le 5 Mai 311.

En effet les monnaies de Licinius Auguste apparaissent dès le début de cette émission et celles de Galère et de l'impératrice Valérie, sa femme, cessent de paraître avec elle.

La frappe des monnaies de Galérie Valérie fut décidée à la conférence de Carnuntum, ainsi que je l'ai expliqué dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Alexandrie.¹⁰

Quant aux empereurs Maximin Daza et Constantin, ils reçurent d'abord le premier le titre de César, le deuxième celui de *Filius Augusti*, au début de cette émission, et échangèrent tous deux ces titres contre ceux d'Augustes au printemps de 309, ainsi que je l'ai expliqué dans mon article sur l'atelier d'Antioche.¹¹ A partir de ce moment il y eut jusqu'à la mort de Galère quatre Augustes dans l'empire, Galère, Licinius, Maximin Daza et Constantin. Maxence, qui n'était pas reconnu par Galère, resta en dehors de cette tétrarchie. Cette émission se distingue encore de la précédente parce que l'atelier de Nicomédie fonctionna à partir du début de cette émission avec six officines A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ. Le sigle CMH continue à se trouver à

⁹ Pièce décrite dans Fried. Kenner, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁰ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, p. 108.

¹¹ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899, p. 218.

la fin des légendes du revers sur la plupart des monnaies de bronze, et le sigle NYCX sur certaines pièces d'or. Cela s'explique par ce fait que les mêmes espèces monétaires continuèrent à paraître et que l'on émit des pièces du même pied monétaire qu'au cours de la seconde partie de l'émission précédente. Mais le poids de ces pièces est toutefois plus variable; elles pèsent depuis 6 gr. 50 c. jusqu'à 8 gr. 50 c.

Exergues de l'émission :

SMNA	SMNB	SMNΓ	SMNA	SMNE	SMNS
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L'atelier de Nicomédie frappa au début de cette émission jusqu'au printemps de 309 les pièces de Galère et de Licinius avec la légende du revers *Genio Augusti*, et celles de Maximin et de Constantin avec le revers *Genio Caesaris*; ces deux derniers empereurs eurent aussi leurs monnaies frappées avec la légende *Genio Augusti*, mais à partir du printemps de 309 seulement.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—GENIO . CAESARIS . CMH. Avec le Génie coiffé du modius, à demi nu, debout à gauche, tenant une patère d'où la liqueur coule et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit.—1. GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . NOB . CAES.
Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 45; off.
B-Γ-S; Br. Mus.; Fr. 8824; Musée de
Berlin; coll. Voetter, Mowat.

Il existe des pièces pareilles mais sans le sigle CMH qui sont inédites, notamment dans la collection Lichtenstein au musée de Vienne, H. Mus. V.; ces pièces ont un diamètre moyen de 26 m.m. Il est possible qu'elles aient

été frappées au cours de l'émission précédente, Daza, ayant été élu César le 1^{er} Mai 305.

2. FL · VAL · CONSTANTINVS · FIL · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 189; off. Γ—B; Br. Mus.; H. Mus. V.; coll. Lichtenstein; Musée de Berlin; Voetter. [Pl. VI, No. 4.] (Constantin reçoit l'effigie de Galère.)

Constantin semble être le seul des deux Césars désigné comme *Filius Augusti* sur les pièces de Nicomédie. L'on sait que Maximin Daza refusa ce titre que lui offrait Galère, et défendit de l'inscrire sur les monnaies de ses ateliers de Cyzique, Antioche et Alexandrie.¹² Mais Nicomédie appartenait à Galère et cet empereur donna le titre de *Filii Augustorum* tant à Maximin Daza qu'à Constantin, et le fit inscrire sur les bronzes de son atelier de Thessalonica¹³ comme sur ceux de celui de Siscia,¹⁴ qui appartenait au second Auguste qu'il avait créé, Licinius. Si donc Maximin ne reçut pas la même dénomination sur les pièces de Nicomédie, cela tient à une raison spéciale. Je la trouve dans les échanges permanents d'espèces qui avaient lieu entre la Bithynie et l'Asie, où l'atelier de Cyzique avait le même système monétaire que celui de Nicomédie. Il eût été inutile d'émettre dans ce dernier atelier des pièces qui n'eussent pas eu cours dans la province d'Asie¹⁵ comme dans celle de Bithynie, et c'est pourquoi l'on n'y frappa probablement

¹² J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Antioche*, p. 218; *L'Atelier d'Alexandrie*, p. 103; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1899 et 1902.

¹³ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Thessalonica*, *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, pp. 112 et 113.

¹⁴ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Siscia*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1900, p. 309.

¹⁵ Qui appartenait à Maximin Daza.

pas de bronzes avec la légende *Maximinus Fil. Aug.*, qui n'eussent pas eu cours dans les états de Maximin Daza, qui comprenaient la province d'Asie.

L'on trouve—

II. *Au revers.*—GENIO . AVGVSTI . CMH. Avec le Génie à demi nu, debout à gauche, coiffé du modius, le manteau rejeté en arrière, tenant une patère d'où la liqueur coule et une corne d'abondance.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMIANVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 42; off. A—Δ—Ε; Fr. Nos. 8501, 8502, 8503; 7 gr. 55 c.; 25 m.m.; Br. Mus.; Musée de Berlin; Voetter. [Pl. VI., No. 5.] (Effigie de Galère appliquée à Hercule.)

2. IMP . C . VAL . LICIN . LICINIVS . P . F . AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 37; off. A—Δ—Ε—S; Br. Mus.; Voetter.

3. IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 34; off. B—Δ—Ε—S; Fr. Nos. 8795; 6 gr. 40 c.; 26 m.m.; 14020, 6 gr. 10 c.; et 14021; Br. Mus.; Voetter. [Pl. VI., No. 6.]

4. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 183; off. B—Γ; Voetter.

Ces deux dernières pièces n'ont pu être frappées qu'après la reconnaissance de Maximin et de Constantin comme Augustes par Galère, au printemps de l'année 309.

III. *Au revers.*—VENERI . VICTRICI . CMH. Vénus debout à gauche, tenant une pomme dans la main droite et soulevant son voile.

Au droit.—GAL . VALERIA . AVG. Son buste drapé à droite avec le croissant dans les cheveux et un collier de perles au cou. Cohen, 13; off. A—B—Δ; Br. Mus.; Voetter; off. S; Musée de Berlin; 8 gr. 40 c.; 26 m.m. [Pl. VI., No. 7.]

J'ai montré dans une étude récente sur l'atelier de Trèves et en me reportant à la classification chronologique des monnaies de Constantinople et d'Antioche, que le diadème n'avait été adopté pour les effigies impériales sur les monnaies romaines qu'après la prise de Constantinople par Constantin en 324;¹⁶ et que c'était bien à cette époque qu'il fallait faire remonter l'adoption du diadème par cet empereur, qui en avait orné d'abord la tête de l'impératrice Héléne.

Je crois donc qu'il est nécessaire de changer les descriptions de Cohen où il est dit que la tête ou le buste de Valérie sont diadémés. Cette impératrice porte un croissant comme celui de Diane.

Les monnaies de Valérie furent émises depuis la conférence de Carnuntum (11 Novembre 308) jusqu'à la mort de Galère (le 5 Mai 311), à une époque où le diadème ne s'était pas encore montré sur les monnaies romaines, si ce n'est sur quelques pièces de Tarse sous Caracalla dans des frappes locales qui n'intéressaient pas l'ensemble de l'empire.¹⁷ Cohen au contraire décrit comme diadémés les bustes de plusieurs impératrices, notamment Magnia Urbica et Galeria Valeria, qui ne portent qu'un simple croissant dans les cheveux.

IV. *Au revers.*—VIRTVTI . EXERCITVS . CMH. Mars en habit militaire, marchant à droite, portant une haste et un trophée et ayant un bouclier au bras gauche.

Au droit.—IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG.
Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 215; off. B—Γ;
Br. Mus.; Voetter.

¹⁶ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves*, deuxième partie, *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, 1901, pp. 76 à 79.

¹⁷ Voir l'article *Diadema* dans le *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines* de Daremberg et Saglio, tome II, p. 120.

Les pièces suivantes ne présentent pas le même sigle CMH; elles font toutefois partie de la même émission à laquelle elles sont rattachées par leurs exergues.

V. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI . AVG. Jupiter à demi nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, appuyé sur un sceptre et tenant un globe; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit.—IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 120; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε; Fr. 8880; 8 gr. 70 c.; 26 m.m.; Br. Mus.; Voetter.

VI. *Au revers.*—VIRTVS . EXERCITVS. Mars casqué en habit militaire, marchant à droite, portant une haste et un trophée et ayant un bouclier au bras gauche.

Au droit.—IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 204; off. A—B; Fr. 8919; Br. Mus.

On doit ranger dans cette émission les pièces d'or suivantes, avec l'exergue $\frac{1}{\text{SMN}}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—VENERI . VICTRICI. Avec le type décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit.—GAL . VALERIA . AVG. Son buste drapé à droite avec le croissant dans les cheveux. Cohen, 1, pièce d'or du type du 1/60^{me} à la livre; Fr. 1486; 5 gr. 31 c.; 20 m.m.

II. Même pièce avec la légende VENERI . VICTRICI . KXYXC. au revers. Cohen, 11; Musée de Berlin, pièce pesant 5 gr. 10 c., mais trouée.

III. *Au revers.*—CONSVL . P . P . PROCONSVL. Maximin lauré et en toge, debout à gauche, tenant un globe et un sceptre court.

Au droit.—MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Son buste lauré à droite avec le manteau impérial et tenant un sceptre. Cohen, 11; Br. Mus.; 18 m.m.

Maximin Daza fut consul en l'année 307, mais comme il ne prit le titre d'Auguste qu'après l'élévation de Licinius en Novembre 308 et même quelques mois plus tard, au printemps de 309 après l'échec de négociations prolongées avec Galère, cette pièce ne peut pas avoir été frappée pendant l'année de son consulat, mais a dû l'être dans l'une des années qui suivirent. Ce fait est à noter car à l'époque Constantinienne, on trouve des représentations d'empereurs en toge portant le globe et le bâton d'ivoire sur les pièces frappées pour célébrer leur entrée en consulat avec les légendes caractéristiques, FELIX · PROCESSVS · COS AVG · N.¹⁸

L'on voit que le même type se retrouve sur d'autres pièces que celles de l'entrée en consulat des empereurs, et sur des pièces émises en d'autres années que celles de leur consulat.¹⁹

TROISIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis la mort de Galère le 5 Mai 311 ou plutôt depuis la prise de la Bithynie et de l'atelier de Nicomédie par Maximin Daza, à la suite de cette mort, en Mai ou Juin 311, jusqu'en l'année 312, pendant laquelle

¹⁸ Nos. 152 à 155 de Constantin dans Cohen. Maxence se fait plus souvent représenter dans un char à six chevaux ou dans un quadriges sur les pièces portant la même légende FELIX PROCESSVS CONS AVG · N ·, Cohen, Nos. 62 et 63, mais parfois aussi il est en toge. Maximin Daza n'est représenté qu'en toge sur ses pièces, indiquant un consulat comme celles ci-dessus.

¹⁹ Friedrich Kenner, dans un article sur les types monétaires (*Programm-Münzen römischer Kaiser, Numism. Zeitschrift*, xvii., 1885, p. 79 et seq.), n'avait indiqué cette représentation de l'empereur en toge, tenant le globe et le bâton d'ivoire, que sur les pièces frappées pendant les années de consulat. L'on voit qu'elle se trouve également sur d'autres.

l'atelier de Nicomédie augmenta d'une le nombre de ses officines.

En effet l'émission débute après la disparition des pièces de Galère et d'autre part si réellement la troisième et la quatrième émissions qui vont être décrites diffèrent bien par le nombre d'une officine, la septième, Z, il n'est pas douteux qu'il faille placer en 312-313 la quatrième émission, qui présente les sept officines que Licinius laissa ouvertes en s'emparant de l'atelier de Nicomédie en Mai 313.

D'ailleurs les ateliers d'Antioche et d'Alexandrie, qui appartenaient aussi à Maximin Daza, frappèrent également deux émissions, une en 311-312 et une en 312-313.

Maximin Daza, dès qu'il eut envahi la Bithynie après la mort de Galère, eut l'habileté de s'attacher les populations de cette province par la suppression de l'impôt le plus odieux. Licinius, qui s'avancait de son côté avec une armée en Thrace, renonça à la guerre, et le détroit de Chalcédoine devint la limite des deux empires.²⁰

L'atelier de Nicomédie se trouva donc dès lors dans les états de Maximin Daza. Cet empereur avait adopté un procédé nouveau de persécution des Chrétiens, dont l'on trouve l'expression dans les types monétaires. Il avait en effet donné un grand développement au culte provincial d'Auguste et de l'Empereur, plaçant un

²⁰ *Lactantii de Mortibus Persecutorum*, c. xxxvi.: "Ingressus (Maximinus) Bithyniam quo sibi ad praesens favorem conciliaret, cum magna omnium laetitia sustulit censum. Discordia inter ambos imperatores ac poene bellum: diversas ripas armati tenebant. Sed conditionibus certis pax et amicitia componitur, et in ipso froto foedus fit ac dexteræ copulantur." Une loi du *Codex Theodosianus*, liber xiii., titul. x., lex ii., me semble indiquer que le *census* en question était l'impôt de capitation sur les populations urbaines de la province.

grand prêtre (*Sacerdos*) à la tête des Flamines de chaque ville et en outre un pontife d'ordre plus élevé (*Sacerdos Provinciae*, ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπαρχίας) à la tête du clergé de toute la province.²¹ A l'aide de cette organisation, il exigea plus facilement des Chrétiens l'accomplissement des sacrifices à l'Empereur et sur leur refus eut une raison pour les persécuter.²² Le culte provincial du Génie d'Auguste ou de l'Empereur joua donc sous son règne un rôle capital qui dans les camps dut être attribué également au Génie de l'Armée.

Or ce sont ces cultes qui sont indiqués au revers des monnaies de Nicomédie, comme de celles d'Antioche ou de Cyzique, autres ateliers de Daza, par l'association des légendes: *Genio Augusti*, *Genio Imperatoris*, *Genio Caesaris*, *Genio Exercitus*,²³ avec le type suivant: un autel allumé sur lequel un Génie, à demi nu, coiffé du modius, verse la libation d'une patère.²⁴

Le Génie du Peuple Romain était associé à celui de l'Empereur, en qui se personnifiait l'Empire, et parut de 305 à 311 sur les monnaies de Lyon et d'Aquilée, en dehors des états de Maximin Daza.

Ce qui prouve bien que nous nous trouvons en face d'une représentation du culte provincial, qui était principalement celui de l'empereur régnant, c'est que si l'on examine les monnaies des 17 ateliers ouverts successivement ou en même temps dans l'Empire romain à

²¹ *Lactantii de Mortib. persec.*, cap. xxxvi.; *Euseb. Hist. Eccles.*, lib. viii., cap. 14.

²² *Euseb. de Martyr. Palest. Hist. Eccles.*, ix., 7; 13.

²³ Dans les deux villes d'Occident (Lyon et Aquilée) où le culte provincial était déjà établi sous Maximien Hercule, l'autel paraît également avec la légende "*Genio Populi Romani*" frappée de 305 à 311.

²⁴ Parmi les trois ateliers en question le Génie de l'Armée (*Genio Exercitus*) est particulier à Antioche.

l'époque Constantinienne, l'on remarque que l'autel n'apparaît aux pieds des Genies indiqués (en y comprenant le Génie du Peuple Romain pour Lyon et Aquilée) que sur les monnaies sorties des ateliers des villes dans lesquelles on célébrait ce culte. Ces villes sont celles de Lyon, dont l'autel au confluent de la Saône et du Rhône était célèbre, celle d'Aquilée, capitale de la Vénitie,²⁵ où existait le culte provincial,²⁶ et qui était une très grande ville à l'époque Constantinienne;²⁷ enfin les trois villes d'Orient, Antioche, Cyzique et Nicomédie, où le culte des Empereurs Romains vivants avait succédé à celui des rois Asiatiques. De ces trois villes, Antioche et Nicomédie étaient à la fois les capitales politiques et religieuses de leurs provinces respectives;²⁸ Cyzique n'était que l'une des villes où se réunissait l'assemblée provinciale de la province d'Asie,²⁹ néanmoins on y célébrait en conséquence le culte de l'Empereur. Quant aux douze autres villes dont les ateliers émettaient des monnaies sur lesquelles les Génies étaient parfois représentés, mais sans avoir à côté d'eux l'autel allumé qui, associé aux Génies, est seul caractéristique du culte provincial, ces villes n'étaient pas le siège d'assemblées provinciales, tout au moins dix d'entre elles ne l'étaient pas. Restent

²⁵ C. Jullian, *Les Transformations politiques de l'Italie sous les Empereurs Romains*, Paris, 1883, p. 172. L'inscription (*ib.*, v., 281) désigne un correcteur de Vénitie sous Maximien Hercule.

²⁶ Guiraud, *Les Assemblées provinciales dans l'Empire Romain*, Paris, 1887, p. 223, indique une dédicace au Patron de la Vénitie et Istrie, qui témoigne d'une assemblée provinciale.

²⁷ *Herodiani Hist.*, lib. viii., c. 4.

²⁸ Mommsen et Marquardt, *Manuel des Antiquités Romaines*, trad. française: *Organisation de l'Empire Romain*, li., p. 526. Guiraud, *loc. cit.*, p. 74, et *C. I. G.*, 2810, 1720, 3428.

²⁹ Paul Monceaux, *De Communi Provinciarum Asiae*, Paris, 1885, pp. 37, 38.

les deux dernières, c'est à dire Carthage, qui avait antérieurement pratiqué le culte des rois morts, et Tarragone. Ces villes ne pratiquaient plus à l'époque qui nous occupe que le culte des Empereurs morts ou *Divi*,³⁰ au lieu de celui d'Auguste et de l'Empereur régnant, qui est le culte provincial que nous trouvons représenté sur les monnaies.

Après la mort de Maximin Daza en 313, sa politique religieuse fut abandonnée par Licinius qui l'avait vaincu, et l'on vit l'autel disparaître des monnaies d'Antioche, de Cyzique et de Nicomédie, pour être remplacé par les diverses représentations de Jupiter.

Les *folles* ou monnaies de bronze de l'émission présente ont, les uns, des poids comparables à ceux des pièces de l'émission précédente; d'autres sont beaucoup moins lourds, et leurs poids tombent jusqu'à 3 gr. 55 c., avec un poids moyen de 4 à 5 grammes. A Nicomédie, comme à Antioche, ce fut après la mort de Galère en 311 que l'abaissement du poids moyen des *folles* se produisit une seconde fois.³¹ La première réduction de poids avait eu lieu en 306-307; et il est à remarquer que ce fut entre ces deux dates que le sigle CMH, qui est une expression de valeur, fut inscrit sur les bronzes de Nicomédie. Toutefois il l'est sur des pièces de poids très différents et parfois très réduits.

³⁰ M. C. Pallu de Lessert a seul mis en lumière ce fait, et c'est sur son travail, où a été exposé ce caractère particulier du culte des Empereurs en Afrique et en Espagne, que j'ai m'appuie pour établir cette distinction des deux ateliers monétaires des villes où le culte des *Divi* avait remplacé celui des Empereurs vivants. Cf. Clément Pallu de Lessert, *Les Assemblées Provinciales et le Culte Provincial dans l'Afrique Romaine*, Paris, 1884; et *Nouvelles Observations sur les Assemblées Provinciales*, Paris, 1891, pp. 6 à 8, edit. Picard.

³¹ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 228.

EXERGUES DE L'ÉMISSION.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

SMN \overline{A}	SMN \overline{B}	SMN $\overline{\Gamma}$	SMN $\overline{\Delta}$	SMN \overline{E}	SMN \overline{S}

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—GENIO · AVGVSTI · CMH · Avec le type décrit. Il ne se trouve pas d'autel au revers des pièces de cette série, où se trouve copié le type de l'émission antérieure.

Au droit.—1. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 34 ; off. A—B— $\overline{\Gamma}$ — $\overline{\Delta}$ — \overline{E} ; Voetter ; Fr. 14119.

2. IMP · C · VAL · LICIN · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 37 ; off. $\overline{\Delta}$ — \overline{E} —S ; Fr. 14116, 14117, 14118 ; 3 gr. 55 c. ; 20 m.m.

3. IMP · C · FL · VAL · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 183 ; off. B— $\overline{\Gamma}$; Voetter.

Ces pièces sont semblables à celles de l'émission antérieure, mais d'un pied monétaire inférieur.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

A	B	$\overline{\Gamma}$	$\overline{\Delta}$	\overline{E}	S
SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN

I. *Au revers.*—GENIO · AVGVSTI. Génie à demi nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté derrière lui, tenant une corne d'abondance et répandant la liqueur d'une patère sur un autel allumé à ses pieds à gauche.

Au droit.—1. IMP · C · GAL · VAL · MAXIMINVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 29 ; off. A—B— $\overline{\Delta}$ — \overline{E} ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter.

2. IMP · C · VAL · LICIN · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 23 ; off. B— $\overline{\Delta}$; Voetter.

3. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG.
 . Tête analogue. Cohen, 180 ; off. A—B ; Voetter.
 [Pl. VI., No. 8.] (L'effigie est celle de Maximin
 Daza, dans les états duquel vient de passer
 l'atelier de Nicomédie.)

L'autel aux pieds du Génie est celui dont il vient
 d'être question.

II. *Au revers.*—GENIO . AVGVSTI . Mais avec un aigle aux
 pieds du Génie à gauche au lieu de l'autel.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P .
 F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 31 ;
 off. B—Γ ; Voetter ; Fr. 14013 ; 5 gr. ; 20 m.m.

2. IMP . C . VAL . LICIN . LICINIVS . P . F . AVG. Tête
 analogue. Ne se trouve pas dans les descrip-
 tions de Cohen ; off. A ; Voetter.

III. *Au revers*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI. Jupiter nu, debout
 à gauche, le manteau déployé derrière lui, tenant
 une Victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un
 sceptre.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F .
 AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 117 ;
 off. A—B—Γ—Δ ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter.

2. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG.
 Tête analogue. Pièce mal décrite dans Cohen ;
 off. B—Γ—Δ—Ε ; Br. Mus. ; 21 m.m. ; Fr.
 14705.

IV. Même légende et même type du revers si ce n'est que l'on
 trouve en outre un aigle tenant une couronne
 en son bec aux pieds de Jupiter à gauche.

Au droit.—Même droit. Mal décrite dans Cohen ; off.
 A—Γ—Δ—Ε ; H. Mus. V. et Fr. 14706–7.

V. *Au revers.*—VIRTVTI . EXERCITVS. Mars, en habit mili-
 taire, marchant à droite, portant une haste et
 un trophée et ayant un bouclier au bras gauche.

Au droit.—IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F .
 AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 214 ;
 off. A—Γ ; Voetter.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE :

A	B	Γ	Δ	Ε	Σ
SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN

I. *Au revers*.—SOLI . INVICTO. Le Soleil en robe longue, debout à gauche, levant la droite et tenant la tête de Sérapis.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 161 ; off. B—Γ—S ; Fr. 14052 ; 4 gr. 65 c. ; 21 m.m.

2. IMP . C . VAL . LICIN . LICINIVS . P . F . AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 159 ; off. B—Γ ; Voetter.

3. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Tête analogue. Cohen, 507 ; off. B—Γ ; Voetter.

Le culte de Sérapis existait tout au moins à Alexandrie, et l'Égypte faisait partie des états de Maximin Daza ; aussi la représentation de la tête de Sérapis n'est-elle pas étonnante sur les monnaies que fit émettre cet empereur.

II. *Au revers*.—HERCVLI . VICTORI. Hercule nu, debout, incliné à droite et s'appuyant sur sa massue enveloppée de la peau de lion.

Au droit.—IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 105 ; off. A—Γ—Δ ; Voetter ; Tanini, supplément à Banduri.

QUATRIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappee depuis le moment où l'atelier de Nicomédie commença à fonctionner avec sept officines (312) jusqu'à la prise de cette ville par Licinius après la défaite de Maximin Daza à Tzirallum en Thrace le 30 Avril 313 et la fuite de cet empereur vers Tarse en Cilicie.

En effet Licinius, venant de Thrace et poursuivant Maximin Daza, s'empara en Mai 313 de l'atelier de Nicomédie et il publia le 13 Juin dans cette ville son édit de tolérance à l'égard des Chrétiens.

Les monnaies de Maximin Daza furent donc émises jusqu'en Mai 313 et l'émission présente se distingue seulement de la précédente par l'addition d'une officine (la septième) et des différents signes, étoile et croissant, dans le champ du revers.

Les *folles* de poids réduits de l'émission précédente continuent à être frappées au cours de celle-ci.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

$\begin{array}{c} * \\ A \\ \hline \text{SMN} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} * \\ B \\ \hline \text{SMN} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} * \\ \Gamma \\ \hline \text{SMN} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} * \\ \Delta \\ \hline \text{SMN} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} * \\ E \\ \hline \text{SMN} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} * \\ S \\ \hline \text{SMN} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c} * \\ Z \\ \hline \text{SMN} \end{array}$
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On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—GENIO . AVGVSTI. Avec le type déjà décrit et l'autel allumé caractéristique du culte provincial.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Cohen, 29 ; off. A—B— Γ — Δ —E—S ; Fr. 14010 ; Musée de Berlin ; Voetter.

2. IMP . C . VAL . LICIN . LICINVS . P . F . AVG. Cohen, 23 ; off. A—Z ; Voetter.

3. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Cohen, 180 ; off. B—S ; Musée de Berlin ; Voetter ; 22 m.m.

II. *Au revers.*—VIRTVTI . EXERCITVS. Mars marchant à droite, portant un bouclier et un trophée et traînant un captif par les cheveux.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce inédite ; off. B ; Voetter.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

$\frac{* A}{SMN}$	$\frac{* B}{SMN}$	$\frac{* \Gamma}{SMN}$	$\frac{* \Delta}{SMN}$	$\frac{* \epsilon}{SMN}$	$\frac{* S}{SMN}$	$\frac{* Z}{SMN}$
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I. *Au revers.*—SOLI . INVICTO. Avec le type déjà décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Cohen, 161 ; off. Γ — Δ —S—Z ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter. [Pl. VI, No. 9.] (Effigie de Maximin Daza caractéristique.)

2. IMP . C . VAL . LICIN . LICINIUS . P . F . AVG. Cohen, 159 ; off. B— Γ —Z ; Voetter.

3. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Cohen, 507 ; off. ϵ ; BR. MUS.

II. *Au revers.*—HERCVLI . VICTORI. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—IMP . C . GAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Cohen, 105 ; off. Γ — Δ — ϵ ; Voetter.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE :

Sigles des revers relevés—

$\frac{* A}{SMN}$	$\frac{* B}{SMN}$	$\frac{* \Gamma}{SMN}$
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I. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI. Avec le type déjà décrit.

Au droit.—IMP . C . GAL . VAL . MAXIMINVS . P . F . AVG. Cohen, 117 ; off. A—B— Γ ; Voetter.

Pièce unique avec le sigle— $\frac{*|\smile}{\Delta|SMN}$

Au revers.—SOLI . INVICTO. Avec le type décrit No. 161 de Maximin Daza dans Cohen. Voetter.

Pièce d'or classée par son différent monétaire dans cette émission.

Au revers.—

| *
SMN

IOVI . CONSERVATORI . AVGG. Jupiter à demi nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant un globe surmonté d'une Victoire et un sceptre ; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 296 ; Fr. 1526 ; 5 gr. 28 c. ; 20 m.m. Pièce d'or de l'espèce du 60^{me} à la livre.

J'ai déjà fait remarquer dans mon étude sur l'atelier de Rome que Constantin frappa des monnaies de Maximin Daza jusqu'au moment de la défaite de cet empereur par Licinius, et qu'il resta par suite étranger à la lutte entre ces deux rivaux. La pièce d'or, ainsi que les séries de bronzes qui viennent d'être décrits, prouvent que de son côté Maximin Daza émit les monnaies de Constantin jusqu'au moment où il perdit ses états.

CINQUIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée depuis la prise de l'atelier de Nicomédie par Licinius en Mai 313 jusqu'à la rupture et la guerre entre cet empereur et Constantin à la fin de l'été de 314.

En effet la première grande bataille entre ces empereurs eut lieu à Cibales en Pannonie Inférieure le 8 Octobre 314,³² mais leur entrée en campagne et leur

³² Il y avait eu des engagements préliminaires en Pannonie : Eutrope, x. 5. *Idat. Fast.* : " Volusiano II et Anniano ; his cons. bellum Cibalense fuit die viii Idus Octob." Zosim., *Hist.*, lib. ii., cap. 18.

rupture, qui dut suspendre la frappe des monnaies de Constantin à Nicomédie, dut être antérieure d'au moins un mois à cette date. Licinius se préparait depuis quelque temps à cette guerre, cherchant à détacher de Constantin par trahison Bassianus, qui avait épousé une sœur de Constantin, Anastasie, et que cet empereur avait voulu faire César. Licinius renversa près d'Æmone les images et les statues de Constantin,³³ ce qui constituait une rupture ouverte avec lui. Il cessa alors la frappe de ses monnaies au début de la campagne de 314, peut-être seulement au commencement de Septembre, car il avait eu tout intérêt à se préparer sous main à la guerre. C'est ce dont témoigne l'émission présente qui comprend encore les monnaies de Constantin.

Les bronzes qu'elle contient sont de petits *folles* de poids encore en général supérieur (4 gr. à 4 gr. 50 c.) à ceux des *Nummi Centenionales* qui seront émis dans les états de Constantin aussitôt après la guerre de 314. Le *Nummus Centenionalis* est l'espèce monétaire qui servira d'étalon dès cette époque; même les bronzes de Licinius s'en rapprocheront, jusqu'à ce qu'elle devienne d'un emploi universel dans l'empire en 317 lors de l'élévation des trois Césars, Crispus, Licinius II et Constantin II.

³³ Lenain de Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, iv., p. 160. *Anonymus Valesii*, iv., 14, 15: "per Senecionem Bassiani fratrem, qui Licinio fidus erat, in Constantinum Bassianus armatur Cum Senecius auctor insidiarum posceretur ad poenam, negante Licinio, fracta concordia est; additis etiam causis quod apud Æmoniam Constantini imagines statuasque dejecerat." Cette destruction des images et des statues peut être comparée dans nos temps modernes à une insulte aux étendards. Æmone est en Pannonie Sup.

EXERGUES DE L'ÉMISSION,

se présentant avec et sans la lettre N dans le champ du revers.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :

A	B	Γ	Δ	Ε	S	Z
S	M	N				

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

N	N	N	N	N	N	N
A	B	Γ	Δ	Ε	S	Z
S	M	N				

La lettre N, qui se rencontre également sur les pièces d'or et sur les bronzes, est sur les premières une indication de valeur. Il est difficile de dire s'il en est de même pour les monnaies de bronze.

I. *Au revers.*—IOVI · CONSERVATORI. Jupiter, à demi nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et un sceptre ; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec.

Au droit.—1. IMP · C · VAL · LICIN · LICINIVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 71. 1^{re} série, toutes les officines ; Fr. 14152, 14153 ; 4 gr. 70 c. ; 14154-5-6-7-8 ; Br. Mus. 2^{me} série, toutes les officines ; Fr. 14159, 14160 ; 4 gr. 55 c. ; 22 m.m. ; 14161-2-3 ; Br. Mus. [Pl. VI., No. 10.] (Effigie de Licinius, dans les mains duquel est passé l'atelier.) On trouve ces pièces dans toutes les collections.

2. IMP · C · FL · VAL · CONSTANTINVS · P · F · AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Pièce mal décrite dans Cohen, dont le tableau des Jovi Conservatori est incohérent. 1^{re} série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε..... Fr. 14705, 14707 ; H. Mus. V. ; Voetter. 2^{me} série, off. A—B—Γ— —Ε—S..... ; Voetter.

La pièce suivante peut être classée, quoique sans exergue, parmi celles de l'atelier de Nicomédie, à cause

de sa légende du droit, qui est pareille aux autres légendes de Licinius inscrites sur les monnaies de cet atelier.

Elle y a été émise après la prise de l'atelier par Licinius, car elle porte inscrits au revers les VOTIS . V . MVLTVS . X . de cet empereur, qui fut élevé au rang d'Auguste en 308 et par suite célébra l'accomplissement de ses *Quinquennalia* en 313. Il reçut dès lors, comme le prouve cette pièce, le souhait de ses *Decennalia*. Une inscription (*C. I. L.*, iii., 6159) qui indique l'accomplissement de ses *Quindecennalia* en 323 est d'accord avec ces dates.

II. *Au revers.*—VOTIS . V . MVLTVS . X . dans une couronne de laurier.

Au droit.—IMP . C . VAL . LICIN . LICINIVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 207 ; Voetter.

Une couronne de laurier entoure fréquemment les *Vota* des divers empereurs ; on peut la considérer, semble-t-il, comme indiquant les jeux célébrés aux anniversaires de l'élévation des empereurs.

SIXIÈME ÉMISSION.

Frappée pendant et depuis la guerre de 314 entre Licinius et Constantin jusqu'à la reconnaissance des trois Césars, Crispus, Licinius II et Constantin II, dans tout l'empire le 1^{er} Mars 317.

L'on peut affirmer que l'atelier de Nicomédie émit des monnaies pendant la guerre de 314. C'est à cette période de la guerre, je crois, que l'on doit rapporter les monnaies et les médaillons qui ne furent frappés qu'aux

noms des deux Licinius, Auguste et César,³⁴ ainsi qu'on le verra plus loin.

J'ai déjà parlé de ces pièces dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Alexandrie,³⁵ et montré qu'il y avait eu deux proclamations ou élévations successives des Césars dans l'empire romain : une première après la guerre de 314 dans les états de l'empereur d'Orient Licinius ; et une deuxième dans tout l'empire et en particulier dans les états de Constantin en Occident le 1^{er} Mars 317.³⁶ Ce sont ces deux élévations successives des Césars qui ont donné lieu aux récits différents des historiens et des chroniqueurs : qui indiquent, les uns (ceux qui ont surtout puisé leurs renseignements aux sources de l'histoire d'Orient³⁷) la période qui suivit la guerre de 314 comme étant l'époque de l'élévation des Césars ;³⁸ tandis que les autres, notamment les *Fastes* d'Idace et la *Chronique Paschale*³⁹ (qui ont pris leurs renseignements aux archives impériales), et le Panégyrique prononcé à Rome lors de l'anniversaire de la cinquième année de règne des Césars, placent cette élévation le 1^{er} Mars 317.⁴⁰

³⁴ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, pp. 127 et seq.

³⁵ J'avais placé leur frappe, dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Alexandrie, aussitôt après la guerre de 314, mais il semble qu'on doit l'avancer encore un peu plus.

³⁶ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, pp. 129 et seq.

³⁷ Zozime, *Hist.*, lib. ii., c. 21 ; Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, 58 ; de *Caes.*, 41.

³⁸ Le texte de *l'Anonyme de Valois*, v., 19, est douteux. On ne sait de quel consulat il veut parler.

³⁹ *Idat. Fast.* ; *Chron. Pasch.* Les Chroniques n'ont dû tenir compte que de la date officiellement admise.

⁴⁰ L'ordre des consulats éponymes, tel qu'il semble avoir été appliqué à cette époque, n'est pas en rapport avec ces élévations des Césars. Licinius II, élevé deux fois, en 314 et en 317, n'est consul éponyme qu'en 319 ; Constantin II, élevé au plus tard en 317, n'est consul éponyme qu'en 320. Crispus l'est par contre en 318.

J'ai expliqué que Licinius avait créé son fils César après la guerre de 314 pour le faire échapper aux conséquences de sa naissance servile,⁴¹ et que pour obtenir l'adhésion de Constantin à cette politique après avoir fait la paix avec lui il fit émettre également vers cette époque des monnaies des Césars (Licinius II et Crispus) avec la légende IOVI · CONSERVATORI · CAESS.⁴²

Mais Constantin refusa d'acquiescer aux propositions de Licinius et ne proclama lui-même l'élévation des Césars qu'en 317, comme le prouvent les émissions de Trèves, Arles, Londres, Rome, Tarragone, dont les émissions de 315 et 316 ne contiennent pas de monnaies des Césars.⁴³

Mais j'ignorais encore en écrivant mes articles sur Alexandrie et sur Trèves qu'il existait également des pièces de Constantin II frappées à Nicomédie, à partir de la guerre de 314, avec la légende du droit FL · CL · CONSTANTINVS · NOB · CS. La présence de ces pièces vient confirmer de nouveau la thèse que j'ai mise en avant, celle des deux élévations successives des Césars, l'une après la guerre de 314 et l'autre en 317; mais elle a deux conséquences nouvelles.

1° D'abord, puisque les pièces des trois Césars, ainsi que celles des deux Augustes, ont été frappées dans les ateliers de l'empereur d'Orient Licinius aussitôt après la guerre de 314, on doit supposer que les pièces des deux

⁴¹ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, Num. Chron., 1902, p. 131.

⁴² J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves*, Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France, 1902, p. 35 de l'article; le volume est en cours de publication.

⁴³ Même travail, pp. 54-56. J'y indique l'émission d'Arles caractéristique des années 315-316, présentant une pièce datée de 315 par le consulat iv de Constantin; et qui ne contient pas les monnaies des Césars.

Licinius, père et fils, désignés comme Auguste et César uniques, ont été émises pendant la guerre même de 314.⁴⁴

2° Ensuite il est nécessaire de renoncer à l'année 316 qui avait été considérée par MM. O. Seeck⁴⁵ et E. Ferrero,⁴⁶ dont j'ai suivi les conclusions, comme étant celle de la naissance de Constantin II. Ce prince, dont l'anniversaire de naissance est indiqué le 7 du mois d'Août dans les *Fastes* de Polemius Salvius,⁴⁷ naquit, selon Zosime⁴⁸ et Aurelius Victor,⁴⁹ peu de temps avant son élévation comme César. Zosime dit même : οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν. L'époque de sa naissance a en conséquence été déterminée par tous les auteurs comme proche de celle de son élévation au rang de César, que l'on plaçait au 1^{er} Mars 317, et l'année 316 choisie pour celle de cette naissance.⁵⁰ Mais la donnée fondamentale du problème est changée si l'on admet que des monnaies de Constantin II César ont été émises aussitôt après la guerre de 314. C'est dans ce cas dans la période qui précède immédiatement cette guerre, au 7 Août 314, qu'il faut placer la naissance de ce prince. En la fixant à cette date on se rend mieux compte de ce qu'a dit

⁴⁴ Dans l'hypothèse admise de l'élévation unique des Césars en 317 on devait considérer ces pièces comme émises seulement à partir de cette date. Mais le témoignage des émissions monétaires ne laisse pas de doute sur l'existence d'émissions différentes représentant les deux élévations des Césars.

⁴⁵ O. Seeck, *Die Zeitf. d. Gesetze Constantins*, *Zeitschrift f. Rechts-Geschichte*, 1889, vol. x., p. 186.

⁴⁶ E. Ferrero, *Mogli e Fili di Costantino*, *Accademia R. d. Scienze di Torino*. Séance, 13 Février 1898.

⁴⁷ *C. I. L.*, i., p. 269.

⁴⁸ Zosime, *Hist.*, lib ii., cap. 20.

⁴⁹ Aurelius Victor, *Epitome*, xli., 4 : "iisdem diebus natum."

⁵⁰ C'est l'avis de Lenoir de Tillemont, *Hist. des Empereurs*, iv., note 38, p. 638, bien qu'il avoue que la difficulté soit grande.

un panégyriste contemporain,⁵¹ qui, lors des *Quinquennalia* des Césars en 321, présente déjà le jeune Constantin II comme “jam maturato studio litteris habilis, jam felix dextera fructuosa subscriptione laetatur.” Cet avancement dans les lettres et dans l'écriture, ainsi que l'intérêt qu'il est dit également porter aux victoires de son frère Crispus,⁵² seraient peu compréhensibles si le jeune César n'avait eu alors que 4 ans, mais sont possibles s'il avait alors 6 ans et demi. Et le texte de Zosime se trouve ainsi complètement d'accord avec lui-même, puisque l'on a vu que c'était aussitôt après la guerre de 314 que cet auteur place l'élévation des Césars. Il en est de même d'Aurelius Victor.⁵³ La naissance de Constantin II doit donc remonter au mois d'Août 314.

L'on comprend enfin la conduite de Constantin le Grand dans ce cas aussi facilement que si Constantin II était né en 316. En effet cet enfant n'était âgé que de 3 à 4 mois après la guerre de 314, et son père ne devait pas être aussi pressé de le déclarer César que Licinius l'était d'élever à ce rang son fils qu'il voulait affranchir de sa naissance servile. Il est facile de comprendre que Constantin ait reculé de deux ans et demi, jusqu'au 1^{er} Mars 317, l'élévation au rang de César de ses deux fils (le second seul étant de Fausta, dont l'élévation de Crispus aurait excité la jalousie), et qu'il se soit refusé jusque-là à reconnaître le jeune Licinius, qui était un bâtard; car la sœur de Constantin, Constantia, avait épousé Licinius et n'avait pas d'enfants.

⁵¹ *Eumen. Paneg.*, x., *Nazarii Constantius A. dictus*, cap. 37.

⁵² *Idem. Panegyric.*, c. 36.

⁵³ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Alexandrie*, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1902, p. 129.

PREMIÈRE PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Frappée pendant la guerre de 314.

Première série de bronzes— $\frac{| \Delta}{\text{SMN}}$ $\frac{| \Delta}{\text{SMN}}$

Ces lettres du revers sont les mêmes que dans l'émission précédente. Je n'ai rencontré que les officines A et Δ.

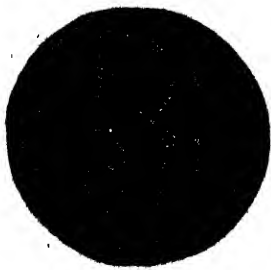
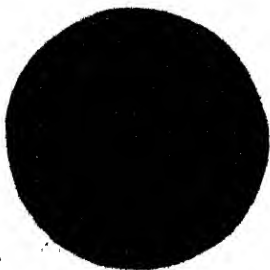
I. *Au revers.*—I . O . M . ET . FORT . CONSER . D . D . N . N . AVG . ET . CAES. Jupiter à demi nu, debout regardant à gauche, le manteau déployé derrière lui, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et un sceptre, en face de la Fortune debout, tourelée, qui tient une corne d'abondance et un gouvernail posé sur un globe.

Au droit.—D . D . N . N . IOVII . LICINII . INVICT . AVG . ET . CAES. Bustes laurés et drapés, en regard, des deux Licinius, soutenant une statue de la Fortune. Cohen, vii, p. 210, No. 1 ; Br. Mus. ; H. Mus. V. ; Off. A—Δ.

Le médaillon d'or suivant doit se placer dans cette série avec $\frac{| \Delta}{\text{SMN}}$

II. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI . LICINIORVM . AVG . ET . CAES. Jupiter à demi nu, assis de face, tenant un sceptre et une Victoire sur un globe.

Au droit.—D . D . N . N . LICINIVS . P . F . AVG . ET . LICINIVS . CAESAR. Bustes nimbés (effigies vraies) des deux Licinius père et fils, ayant le manteau impérial agrafé sur l'épaule droite. Une étoile au dessus de chacun d'eux.



Les nimbes qui entourent les têtes des empereurs semblent avoir encore pour les Licinius, qui s'intitulent princes Joviens, une signification paienne et indiquer la divinité de l'Empereur. Plus tard, sous Constantin, de 324 à 326, le nimbe se retrouve sur plusieurs pièces et médaillons ⁵⁴ à une époque où la signification paienne de toutes les formules et de tous les symboles se perd, où les formules comme PROVIDENTIAE · AVGG ne sont plus frappées que par imitation des monnaies antérieures. Le nimbe à cette époque semble donc devenir un simple symbole de la souveraineté impériale. Mais il n'en était pas encore de même pour Licinius en 314, c'est à dire à l'époque où son adversaire Constantin adoptait seulement le Christianisme comme religion officielle.⁵⁵

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :



Cette série monétaire, où l'on ne trouve encore qu'un seul Auguste et un seul César, doit pour cette raison avoir été émise pendant la guerre de 314.

De nombreuses fautes d'orthographe, certaines semblables à celles que commettraient des ouvriers barbares ou étrangers, d'autres étant de simples suppressions de lettres, d'autres exprimant la contraction du AE en E, se remarquent sur les monnaies de Nicomédie.

⁵⁴ Cohen, vii., No. 657 de Constantin le Grand et 104 de Constantin II.

⁵⁵ M. Babelon a présenté à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres dans la séance du 27 Mai 1903 un admirable médaillon de Constantin où le buste de cet empereur se trouve accolé à celui du Soleil, et qui porte en légende ADVENTVS · AVGG · NN · en l'honneur de l'entrée à Milan de Constantin et Licinius en Février 313 pour la conférence où fut établie la paix religieuse. Constantin se laissa donc représenter comme païen jusqu'en 313.

Je relèverai quelques exemples :

NOV . CS pour NOB . CAES.

PROVIDENTIAE . CAES pour CAESS.

SECVRITAS . REIPVBLICE pour REIPVBLICAE.

EQVES pour EQVIS.

CAVS pour CAES.

VIRTVS . CAESARIN pour CAESARVM.

Puis des erreurs de noms propres :

ΔALMATIVS pour ΔELMATIVS.

CONSTANTINOPOLI pour CONSTANTINOPOLIS.

Dans les exergues SMNM ou SMNP, M et P sont à la place de lettres grecques d'officines.

Une partie des confusions de lettres que l'on remarque sur les monnaies de Nicomédie a été relevée également sur les monnaies d'Antioche par le Colonel Voetter.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI . AVG. Jupiter à demi nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté en arrière, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et un sceptre.

Au droit.—VA . CO . LICINIVS . NOV (sic) CS. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Pièce inédite. Voetter ; off. S.

Avec une étoile en plus dans le champ du revers—



II. *Au revers*.—IOVI · CONSERVATORI · CAES. Même type.

Au droit.—LICINIVS · NOB · CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Pièce inédite. Musée de Berlin.

Ces pièces pourraient aussi avoir été frappées par des barbares aussitôt après la guerre en imitation des pièces qui parurent alors à Nicomédie, mais il semble plus naturel d'admettre, à cause de la désignation d'un seul Auguste et César, qu'elles ont été émises à Nicomédie pendant la guerre. Le jeune Licinius reçut sur les monnaies pendant et aussitôt après la guerre les noms de Valerius Constantinus. Il est à remarquer que ces noms sont ceux, à part le Gentilice, de Flavia Valeria Constantia, femme de Licinius et sœur de Constantin. Ne faut-il pas voir dans ce fait une nouvelle confirmation de la tentative faite par Licinius pour adopter le fils qu'il avait eu d'une esclave et le faire échapper aux conséquences de sa naissance servile?

DEUXIÈME PARTIE DE L'ÉMISSION.

Frappée après la guerre de 314 depuis la fin de l'année 314 ou depuis le 1^{er} Janvier 315, date à laquelle la réconciliation de Licinius et de Constantin fut rendue officielle par la prise en commun du consulat par ces deux empereurs jusqu'au 1^{er} Mars 317, date de la reconnaissance des trois Césars dans tout l'empire.

Ce qui permet de marquer les limites de cette émission, c'est la comparaison avec les émissions synchroniques d'Alexandrie et de Cyzique. L'on frappa dans ces trois ateliers des légendes *Iovi Conservatori* avant la guerre de 314; *Iovi Conservatori Augg.* ou *Caess.* après la

guerre en 315 et 316; et encore de 317 à 320 avec de nouveaux différents monétaires; enfin de nouveau la légende *Iovi Conservatori* de 320 à 324.⁵⁶

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE :



I. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI . AVGG. Jupiter à demi nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre.

Au droit.—1. IMP . LICINIVS . AVG. Son buste lauré à gauche avec le manteau impérial; tenant le foudre d'une main et de l'autre un sceptre et un globe. Cohen, 116; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ—Ζ; Fr. 14203-4, 3 gr. 30 c.; 19 m.m.; 14205-6-7; 3 gr.; 19 m.m.; 14208-9; Br. Mus.; Voetter. [PL. VI., No. 11.] (Effigie de Licinius, dans les états de qui se trouve l'atelier.)

2. IMP . CONSTANTINVS . AVG. Buste analogue. Pièce voisine de Cohen, 301; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ—Ζ; Fr. 14727; 3 gr. 60 c.; 19 m.m.; Br. Mus.; Voetter. [PL. VI., No. 12.]

3. FL . VN . CRISPVS . NO . CAS (*sic*). Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Décrite par Gneecchi; off. Δ.

Cette pièce, d'après son type, n'est pas barbare. La tête de Crispus semble empruntée à Maximin Daza, dont l'effigie servit encore après sa mort.

⁵⁶ Il y a en effet une émission de la légende *Iovi Conservatori* sans les Césars et qui continue jusqu'à la frappe des monnaies de Valens pendant la guerre de 314; et il y a une frappe de la légende *Iovi Conservatori Augg.* qui continue à présenter à Alexandrie les mêmes sigles du revers que la précédente, puis vient de nouveau la légende *Iovi Conservatori* avec les trois Césars et Martinianus.

- 4 VA . CO . LICINIVS . N . CS. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Pièce inédite Gneccchi; off. S.
5. FL . CL . CONSTANTINVS . NOV . CS. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Pièce inédite. Br. Mus. [Pl. VI., No. 13.]

Le buste de cette pièce n'est pas le portrait de Constantin II. L'effigie de ce prince, enfant âgé seulement de quelques mois, ne pouvait pas encore être parvenue à Nicomédie, d'autant plus que Licinius frappait les monnaies de Crispus et de Constantin II sans l'autorisation de Constantin.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE.

Cette série se rapproche beaucoup de la précédente. Elle ne présente comme différent monétaire nouveau qu'un point dans le champ au dessus de la lettre d'officine, et il ne semble pas toujours présent.



1. *Au revers.* — PROVIDENTIAE . CAESS. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau rejeté sur l'épaule gauche, tenant un globe surmonté d'une Victoire et un sceptre.

Au droit. — I. D . N . VAL . LICIN . LICINIVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 37, en rétablissant la légende, dont une partie a été oubliée dans Cohen; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—Σ—Ζ; Fr. 14407-8-9-10-11; 3 gr. 90 c.; 19 m.m.; 14412-3-4-5; Br. Mus.; au Musée de Turin, sans point dans le champ. [Pl. VII., No. 1.]

2. Même légende. Son buste lauré à gauche avec le manteau impérial, tenant de la droite le foudre ou la mappa, et de la gauche un globe avec un sceptre. Cohen, 38; off. A—Δ—Σ; Br. Mus.; Voetter.

L'on remarquera que si les légendes sont changées d'une série à l'autre de cette émission, les types restent les mêmes. L'on trouve le même Jupiter au revers.

3. D · N · FL · IVL · CRISPVS · NOB · CAES. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 114 ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S ; Fr. 15474-5 ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter.
4. Même légende. Son buste lauré à gauche, avec le manteau impérial, tenant le foudre ou la mappa de la droite et un globe avec un sceptre de la gauche. Pièce inédite ; off. A ; Voetter.
5. D · N · FL · CL · CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 161 ; Fr. 15762 ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter ; off. B—Δ—Z.
6. Même légende. Son buste lauré à gauche, avec le manteau impérial, tenant le foudre ou la mappa de la droite et un foudre avec un sceptre de la gauche. Cohen, 162 ; Br. Mus. ; off. B.

La légende *Providentiæ Caess.* avait encore une signification païenne sous Licinius, étant associée au type de Jupiter, tandis que, lorsque Constantin eut pris l'Orient en 324, elle continua à paraître sur les monnaies mais associée à la Porte de Camp et n'ayant plus de sens religieux défini.

SEPTIÈME ÉMISSION.

*Frappée depuis la date de la reconnaissance des trois Césars, Crispus, Constantin II et Licinius II, dans tout l'empire le 1^{er} Mars 317, jusqu'à la prise de l'atelier de Nicomédie par Constantin quelques jours après la bataille de Chalcedoine, qui est du 18 Septembre 324.*⁵⁷

⁵⁷ *Idatii Fasti* ; Calendrier de Philocalus, C. I. L., I., p. 850 : "x kal. Oct." Le Chronique Paschale donne une date faussée.

En effet, à partir du début de cette émission, les monnaies des trois Césars portent au droit leurs noms orthographiés comme dans les autres ateliers et qui indiquent des frappes uniformes dans tout l'empire. En outre, des trois séries qui composent l'émission, l'une se continue évidemment jusqu'à la chute de Licinius, puisqu'elle comprend les monnaies de Martinianus, et une autre comprend les *Vota X* des Césars, qui ne furent inscrits qu'à la fin de l'émission de 320 à 324 dans d'autres ateliers de l'empire.⁵⁸

Martinianus, qui d'après Théophanès⁵⁹ régna trois mois, fut créé César selon les auteurs, et Auguste d'après ce que nous apprennent les monnaies, par Licinius, quand cet empereur avait déjà été vaincu par Constantin à Hadrianopolis et était assiégé dans Byzance par terre et par mer. Licinius se sauva alors de Byzance à Chalcédoine en Bithynie et tandis qu'il surveillait le Bosphore il envoya Martinianus surveiller l'Hellespont à Lampsaque.⁶⁰ Mais vaincu de nouveau à Chalcédoine, il se réfugia à Nicomédie où il se rendit à Constantin, qui lui laissa momentanément la vie sauve; mais bientôt, en 325, Constantin le fit exécuter par ses soldats, peut-être à l'occasion d'une révolte, ainsi que Martinianus réfugié d'après l'Anonyme de Valois en Cappadoce.⁶¹

Mais tous deux furent en tous cas déchus du rang d'Augustes aussitôt après la reddition de Licinius en Septembre 324. Il en résulte que cette émission fut alors suspendue, au moins en partie, et que les monnaies

⁵⁸ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Sévère*, Num. Chron., 1900, pp. 342-348.

⁵⁹ *Theophanis Chronographia*.

⁶⁰ Les récits les plus complets sont ceux d'Aur. Victor, *Építome*, 59, et de Zosime, *Hist.*, liv. ii., chaps. 25 et 27.

⁶¹ *Anonymus Valensii*, v., 29.

de Martinianus ne furent émises qu'à Nicomédie et peut-être à Cyzique, ateliers qui furent seuls au pouvoir de Licinius et de Martinianus réunis.⁶²

Les pièces de bronze de cette émission sont de l'espèce du *Nummus Centenionalis*. Les monnaies d'or sont de l'espèce du 60^{me} à la livre d'or; elles portent parfois la lettre N dans le champs du revers; cette lettre est une indication de valeur.

PREMIÈRE SÉRIE.

Cette série est parallèle à celle qui comprend à Antiocho les monnaies de l'impératrice Ste Hélène frappées aussitôt après la guerre de 324.

Q A	Q B	Q Γ	Q Δ	Q E	Q S	Q Z
SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN	SMN

J'indique l'officine Z qui doit exister, mais je ne l'ai pas trouvée.

I. *Au revers*.—IOVI . CONSERVATORI . AVGG. Avec le type déjà décrit avec cette légende dans l'émission précédente.

Au droit.—1. IMP . LICINIVS . AVG. Buste déjà décrit. Cohen, 116; Musée de Turin; off. B.

2. Je n'ai pas trouvé la pièce de Constantin analogue à celle de la série précédente.

II. *Au revers*.—IOVI . CONSERVATORI . CAESS. Avec le type déjà décrit.

⁶² La mer n'appartenait plus à Licinius après la victoire de la flotte de Crispus en Juillet ou Août, et l'Égypte, complètement isolée, ne dut pas recevoir l'ordre d'émettre de monnaies de Martinianus, et en effet on n'en trouve pas dans ses émissions. Cf. O. Seeck, *Zur Chronologie des Kaisers Licinius*, *Hermes*, 1901, pp. 28 à 35; J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Alexandrie*, *Num. Chron.*, 1902, p. 133.

Au droit.—1. IMP . CONSTANTINVS . AVG. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche, tenant un globe et un sceptre. Pièce inédite. Off. Δ; Musée de Berlin.

2. D . N . VAL . LICIN . LICINIVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré à droite avec le manteau impérial, tenant le foudre dans la droite et de la gauche un globe et un sceptre. Musée de Turin.

3. D . N . FL . IVL . CRISPVS . NOB . CAES. Son buste lauré à gauche, avec le manteau impérial, tenant le foudre dans la droite et de la gauche un globe et un sceptre. Cohen, 80; Fr. 15545; off. B.

4. Il doit exister une pièce analogue de Constantin II.

DEUXIÈME SÉRIE :

$$\begin{array}{c} | X \\ | \text{III} \Gamma \\ \hline \text{SMNA} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | X \\ | \text{III} \Gamma \\ \hline \text{SMNB} \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | X \\ | \text{III} \Gamma \\ \hline \text{SMN} \Gamma \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{c} | X^{63} \\ | \text{III} \Gamma \\ \hline \text{SMN} \Delta \end{array}$$

I. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI. Jupiter nu, debout à gauche, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec et à droite un captif assis.

Au droit.—1. IMP . C . VAL . LICIN . LICINIVS . P . F . AVG. Son buste radié, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 74; off. A—B—Γ; Fr. 14174; 3 gr. 45 c.; 20 m.m.; 14175-6; Voetter.

Variété $\begin{array}{c} | X \\ | \text{II} \\ \hline \text{SMN} \Delta \end{array}$ [Pl. VII., No. 2.]

2. IMP . C . FL . VAL . CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Son buste radié, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 292; off. Δ; Fr. 14709; off. Δ; H. Mus. V.; off. Γ—Δ; Voetter, B—Γ.

⁶³ Pour le chiffre $\begin{array}{c} | X \\ | \text{III} \Gamma \end{array}$ je renvoie aux articles originaux dans mon tude sur *L'Atelier d'Alexandrie*, Num. Chron., 1902, p. 134.

3. D · N · VAL · LICIN · LICINIVS · NOB · C. Son buste casqué et cuirassé à gauche, tenant une haste sur l'épaule et un boucher. Cohen, 21; off. A—B—Γ—Δ; Br. Mus.; Fr. 14389-90; 2 gr. 90 c.; 18 m.m.; Voetter.
4. D · N · FL · IVL · CRISPVS · NOB · CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 77; off. Γ; Br. Mus.; Fr. 15443; Voetter.
5. D · N · FL · CL · CONSTANTINVS · NOB · C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 133; off. A—Δ; Fr. 15747; Musée de Turin; Voetter.
6. D · N · MARTINIANVS · P · F · AVG. Son buste radié et drapé à droite. Cohen, 1; off. B—Γ—Δ; Br. Mus.; Voetter. Avec sa tête radiée à droite. Cohen, 5; off. Γ; coll. Gneccchi.
7. D · N · M · MARTINIANVS · P · F · AVG. Son buste radié et drapé à droite. Cohen, 3. Les officines Γ et Δ sont indiquées par Cohen. Les officines P et T, si elles sont bien observées, indiquent des pièces fausses.
8. D · N · M · MARTINIANO · P · F · AVG. Son buste radié, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 4; off. A—B—Γ; H. Mus. V.; Musée Brera; Fr.

TROISIÈME SÉRIE:






- I. *Au revers.*—CAESARVM · NOSTRORVM. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT · X. (Cette couronne de laurier est sans doute une couronne agonistique indiquant les jeux qui devaient être célébrés aux anniversaires des Césars, lors de l'accomplissement de leurs *Quinquennalia*, *Decennalia*, etc.)

Au droit.—1. CRISPVS · NOB · CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 42; off. Γ; H. Mus. V.

2. Il doit exister une pièce analogue de Constantin II.

Quant à Licinius II, il n'est pas sûr que le chiffre des *Vota* qui lui sont souhaités ait coïncidé dans les états de son père avec ceux des *Vota* des autres Césars, ce prince ayant pu être considéré comme créé plus tôt César.

II. *Au revers*.—DOMINOR . NOSTROR . CAESS. Autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT . X.

Au droit.—CRISPVS . NOB . CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 65; off. B; Fr. 15439; 3 gr. 50 c.; 20 m.m.

PIÈCES D'OR DE LA SEPTIÈME ÉMISSION.

Avec l'exergue $\frac{1}{SMNA}$

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—IOVI . CONSERVATORI. Jupiter, à demi nu, debout à gauche, sur un cippe, le manteau sur l'épaule gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec; sur le cippe on lit SIC . X . SIC . XX.

Au droit.—LICINIVS . AVGVSTVS. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 61; Fr. 1505; 5 gr. 25 c.; 21 m.m.

Licinius, créé Auguste en 308 à la conférence de Carnuntum, célébra ses *Vota X* dès l'année 318; c'est ce que confirme la célébration de ses *Quindeccennialia* indiquée par une inscription avant la chute de Licinius, c'est à dire en 323.⁶⁴ En même temps que ses *Vota X* on lui souhaita par anticipation les *Vota XX*.

⁶⁴ C. I. L., III, 6159; J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves*, Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France, séance du 16 Juillet, 1902.

II. Même légende du revers et même type mais sans le cippe ni les *Vota*.

Au droit.—Même légende et même tête. Cohen, 63 ;

FR. $\frac{|}{\text{SMN}\Delta}$ 5 gr. 20 c. ; 21 m.m. ; H. Mus. V.

$\frac{| \text{N}}{\text{SMN}\Delta}$ 5 gr. 30 c. ; 21 m.m.

L'on voit que la lettre N ne peut pas être l'initiale du mot *νόμισμα* puisqu'elle est inscrite sur des pièces de l'espèce du 60^{me} à la livre. Mais elle doit être un signe de valeur.

Ce sont les *Vota* déjà indiqués qu'on retrouve sur une pièce reprise de Banduri par Cohen.

III. *Au revers*.—SIC . X . SIC . XX . SMNB . sur un bouclier, dessus un aigle.

Au droit.—LICINIVS . AVGVSTVS. Sa tête ceinte d'une couronne de perles. Cohen, 157, pièce d'or reprise de Banduri.

Licinius père célébra ses *Vota* X dès l'année 318 mais on continua à inscrire la formule SIC . X . SIC . XX . sur ses monnaies pendant toute cette émission jusqu'en 324, puisqu'on ne trouve pas d'autre formule sur les pièces de Nicomédie, atelier qui lui appartient jusqu'aux derniers jours de son règne.⁶⁵ Il en résulte que la pièce suivante a pu être frappée jusqu'en l'année 324.

IV. *Au revers*.—IOVI . CONS . LICINI . AVG. Jupiter debout sur un cippe, regardant à gauche, tenant une Victoire sur un globe et appuyé sur un sceptre ; à ses pieds un aigle qui tient une couronne en son bec ; sur le cippe on lit : SIC . X . SIC . XX.

⁶⁵ Les *Vota* XXX lui furent souhaités à Thessalonica, mais Thessalonica était dans les mains de Constantin, et Licinius put lui emprunter le chiffre de ses *Vota*.

Au droit.—LICINIVS . AVGVSTVS. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 131 ; Musée de Berlin ; Cohen indique $\frac{|}{\text{SMNA}}$

Exergue $\frac{|}{\text{SMN}}$

Licinius était un prince de la dynastie Jovienne, ayant été adopté par Galère, qui l'avait été lui-même par Dioclétien. C'est ce qui explique la quantité de représentations de Jupiter et de légendes IOVI etc., que l'on trouve sur ses monnaies, où elles ont remplacé les Génies qui y étaient représentés du temps de Maximin Daza.

V. *Au revers.*—Même légende. Jupiter est assis de face sur le cippe, tenant le globe surmonté d'une Victoire et un sceptre ; à ses pieds l'aigle tenant une couronne ; sur le cippe SIC . X . SIC . XX.

Au droit.—LICINIVS . AVG . OB . D . V . FILII . SVI.
Son buste, tête nue, drapé de face. Cohen, 128 ; Fr., or, 1506 ; 5 gr. 12 c. ; 20 m.m. ; Musée de Berlin ; H. Mus. V. ; 5 gr. 30 c. ; 22 m.m.

Exergue $\frac{|}{\text{SMNF—E}}$

Les *Vota X* des trois Césars ont été inscrits sur les monnaies dans les états de Licinius en 324. Mais la formule (*ob Decennalia Vota Filii sui*) appliquée à Licinius jeune par l'empereur d'Orient a une portée spéciale. Il ne s'agit plus en effet de vœux souhaités ou *suscepta* ; mais de vœux accomplis ou *soluta*. Peut-être cette formule est-elle la consécration de l'élévation de Licinius II au rang de César en 314.

La pièce suivante indique en effet que l'on compta au cours de l'émission présente les *Vota V* de ce César.

VI. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI . CAES. Jupiter à demi nu, assis de face, sur une base, tenant une Victoire et un sceptre; à ses pieds un aigle tenant une couronne en son bec; sur la base on lit: SIC . V . SIC . X.

Au droit.—D . N . VAL . LICIN . LICINIUS . NOB . C.
Son buste, tête nue, drapé de face. Cohen, 28; Musée de Berlin; Cohen indique les officines A—Γ—Ε. Exergue $\overline{\text{SMNA}}$

VII. *Au revers.*—IOVI . CONSERVATORI. Avec le type de Jupiter debout tenant une Victoire sur un globe et un sceptre; à ses pieds à gauche un aigle tenant une couronne.

Au droit.—D . N . VAL . LICIN . LICINIUS . NOB . C.
Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 20;
Fr. 1510; avec $\overline{\text{SMNE}}$ ^N; 5 gr. 30 c.; 21 m.m.
[Pl. VII., No. 3.] (Effigie de Licinius jeune.)

VIII. *Au revers.*—SOLI . INVICTO. Le Soleil radié, debout à gauche, en robe longue; levant la droite et tenant un globe.

Au droit.—D . N . FL . IVL . CRISPVS . NOB . CAES.
Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite.
Cohen, 135; Fr. 1561; 5 gr. 32 c.; 21 m.m.
Exergue $\overline{\text{SMNA}}$

Les légendes *Soli Invicto* et *Soli Invicto Comiti* sont les plus fréquentes sur les monnaies de Constantin et de Crispus: la première est ici inscrite sur cette pièce de Crispus en opposition avec la légende *Jovi Conservatori* sur les pièces des Licinius.

IX. *Au revers.*—VICTORIAE . AVGG . N . N. Victoire debout à droite écrivant sur un bouclier posé sur un cippe VOT . X . MVL . XX.

Au droit.—LICINIUS . AVGVSTVS. Sa tête laurée à droite.
Pièce d'or de M. Gnecchi, décrite par lui dans la
Riv. It. di Numismatica, 1896, fasc. ii., No. 291.
Exergue $\overline{\text{SMNI}}$

X. Même légende et même type du revers.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. La tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 624, autrefois Coll. Rollin.

J'ai fait plusieurs fois remarquer que dans les états de Constantin ses *Vota* étaient attribués à Licinius. L'on trouve ici une application inverse du même principe. Ce sont les *Vota* de Licinius qui dans les états de cet empereur à Nicomédie sont appliqués à Constantin. En effet les *Vota* X de Constantin furent inscrits sur les monnaies en 315 et 316, c'est à dire avant l'émission présente.

XI. *Au revers.*—VICTORIA . AVGG . ET . CAESS . N . N. Victoire assise sur des armes, tenant un bouclier sur lequel on lit VOT . XX ; auprès d'elle un trophée au pied duquel est un captif.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 591 ; Ancien Catalogue du Cabinet de France.

Les *Vota* XX de Licinius lui furent appliqués au moins à partir de l'accomplissement de ses *Vota* XV en 323. Toutes ces pièces sont de l'espèce du 60^{me} à la livre d'or, qui fut supprimée comme monnaie courante après la prise de l'atelier de Nicomédie par Constantin en 324.

HUITIÈME ÉMISSION.

*Frappée depuis l'élévation de Constance II au rang de César le 8 Novembre 324 jusqu'à la mort de Fausta, qui suivit celle de Crispus en Septembre 326.*⁶⁸

En effet cette émission est caractérisée par la disparition des monnaies de Licinius, vaincu et détrôné par

⁶⁸ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Antioche*, Num. Chron., 1899, p. 237.

Constantin en Septembre 324,⁶⁷ et par l'apparition des monnaies de Constance II. On y trouve en outre les pièces de Crispus et celles de Fausta qui ne parurent qu'au cours de cette émission.

Constantin s'étant emparé de Nicomédie et y ayant séjourné dès le mois de Septembre 324, il est impossible de dire s'il n'y fit pas dès lors frapper cette émission, moins les pièces de Constance II et de Fausta.

Quoiqu'il en soit, les monnaies de Constance II ne parurent qu'après l'élévation de ce prince au rang de César le 8 Novembre 324, et l'on dut commencer à émettre en même temps à l'occasion de ce couronnement celles de Fausta, mère de Constantin II, et de Constance II.

Cette émission présente une officine de moins que les précédentes.

Les pièces de bronze sont de l'espèce du *Nummus Centenionalis*, désigné aussi dans certains textes comme denier Constantinien, dont le poids moyen est de 3 gr. 50 c.

Les fêtes des *Vicennalia* de Constantin furent célébrées au cours de cette émission et donnèrent lieu à la frappe de nombreuses monnaies et médaillons. O. Seeck a fait remarquer qu'un témoignage formel indique que ces *Vicennalia* furent fêtés une première fois à Nicomédie en 325⁶⁸ et une seconde à Rome en 326. Il dut en être de même des *Decennalia* des Césars en 326 et 327. Les *Vota X* des Césars leur ont été déjà attribués par anticipation au cours de l'émission précédente; mais

⁶⁷ La bataille de Chalcedoine est du 18 Septembre 324.

⁶⁸ O. Seeck, *Zeitschr. d. Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgesch. Rom.*, Abth. x., p. 186. *Hieronymi Chr.*, "Anno 2342 Constantini 20^o vicennalia Constantini Nicomediae facta, et sequenti anno Romae edita."

certaines pièces qui célèbrent exclusivement leurs *Decennalia* sont celles où l'on trouve les noms des Césars au revers et au droit leurs têtes diadémées, les yeux levés au ciel, sans légende; il en sera question plus loin. Elles furent frappées en 326.

Tableau des Exergues de l'Émission.

Première série :

SMNĀ SMNB SMNΓ SMNΔ SMNE SMNS

Deuxième série :

SMNĀ● SMNB● SMNΓ● SMNΔ● SMNE● SMNS●

Troisième série :

MNĀ MNB MNΓ MNΔ MNE MNS

Quatrième série :

MNĀ● MNB● MNΓ● MNΔ● MNE● MNS●

Cinquième série :

NĀ NB NΓ NΔ NE NS

Sixième série :

NĀ● NB● NΓ● NΔ● NE● NS●

L'on voit que chaque série d'exergues est répétée deux fois, avec et sans points. L'atelier de Nicomédie y est

désigné par la lettre N comme dans les émissions précédentes. On y lit parfois les initiales des mots *S(acra) M(oneta)* et l'on y trouve toujours une lettre d'officine grecque.

I. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE . AVGG. Porte de camp sans battants surmontée de deux tours; au dessus une étoile.

Au droit.—1. CONSTANTINVS . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 454.

1 ^{re} série	} A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S	{	BR. MUS. ; H. MUS. V.
3 ^{me} série			FR. 14793-4-5 ; BR. MUS.
5 ^{me} série			FR. 14831-2-3-4.

Ce sont les séries sans les points.

2. Même légende. Son buste diadômé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 455 ; 1^{re} série, off. B—Γ—Ε ; BR. MUS.

3. CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Son buste diadômé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 452 ; 1^{re} série, off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S ; H. MUS. V. ; Voetter.

Des bustes diadômés de Constantin et de l'impératrice Sainte Hélène se montrent sur les monnaies dès le début de cette émission. J'ai fait remarquer dans une étude sur Trèves⁶⁹ que la comparaison des émissions des divers ateliers de la période Constantinienne conduit à admettre que ce fut après sa conquête de l'Orient sur Licinius que Constantin le Grand adopta le diadème pour les effigies impériales. Il en orna d'abord la tête de l'impératrice Sainte Hélène, quand la guerre d'Orient était à peine achevée, après sa victoire de Chalcédoine,⁷⁰ puis il

⁶⁹ *Memoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1908, en cours de publication, pages 52 à 55 de l'article.

⁷⁰ Sur les monnaies d'Antioche, J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Antioche*, Num. Chron., 1899, p. 281.

l'adopta pour lui, et en 325, au plus tard, pour les Césars.⁷¹

II. *Au revers*.—PROVIDENTIAE . CAESS. Même type du revers.

Au droit.—1. FL . IVL . CRISPVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Cohen, 123. 1^{ère} série, off. B—Γ—Ε—S; BR. MUS.; Voetter; FR. 15481. 3^{me} série, FR. 15480, off. B.

2. FL . IVL . CRISPVS . NOB . CAES. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 125. 1^{ère} série, off. A—B—Γ; Voetter; FR. 15489.

3. CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 165. 1^{ère} série, off. A—Γ—Δ; BR. MUS.; Voetter. 2^{me} série, off. A—B—Γ—S; FR. 15759—60; 15771—2; Voetter; BR. MUS. [PL. VII, No. 4.] (Effigie de Constantin II.) 3^{me} série, off. B—Γ—S; FR. 15778; 3 gr.; 17 m.m.; BR. MUS.

Je n'indique que les officines que j'ai vues, mais il est probable qu'on a dû frapper des séries complètes.

4. Même légende du droit. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 164. La cuirasse n'est représentée que par quelques séries. 2^{me} série, off. A—B—Γ—Ε—S; FR. 15769; BR. MUS.

5. FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Cohen, 167. 1^{ère} série, off. Δ—S; BR. MUS.; Voetter. 2^{me} série, off. B—Δ—S; FR. 16227—8; 3 gr. 40 c.; 19 m.m.; Voetter.

⁷¹ Sur toutes les pièces et médaillons frappés en l'honneur des *Decennalia*. Le Professeur O. Seeck avait déjà reconnu que l'adoption du diadème était postérieure à la chute des Licinius. Seeck, *Zu den Festmünzen Constantins und seiner Familie*, *Zeitsch. f. Numism.*, xxi, p. 27.

3^{me} série, off. Δ—S ; FR. 16235 ; Voetter.

4^{me} série, off. Β—Γ—Δ—S ; BR. Mus. ; Voetter.

[Pl. VII., No. 5.]

6^{me} série, off. Β—Δ—S ; Voetter.

6. Même légende du droit. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 168. Même remarques que plus haut sur la cuirasse.

2^{me} série, off. Δ—S ; FR. 16227-8.

L'étude des monnaies de bronze de Nicomédie et de Héraclée de Thessalie permet de donner la raison pour laquelle les légendes PROVIDENTIAE . AVGG . et PROVIDENTIAE . CAESS . avec les Augustes au pluriel furent frappées lorsqu'il n'y avait plus qu'un Auguste dans l'empire. L'on voit en effet que la seconde de ces formules fut inscrite sur les monnaies de Nicomédie de 315 à 316, et la première, avec la porte de camp au lieu de la représentation de Jupiter comme type du revers, sur celles de Héraclée de Thessalie de 315 à 320, sur les monnaies de Licinius principalement. Ces deux ateliers appartenrent à Licinius jusqu'à sa chute, car l'étude des émissions monétaires de Héraclée montre que la Thessalie resta unie à l'empire d'Orient jusqu'à la chute de Licinius en 324. L'on voit donc que Constantin ne fit que continuer les frappes monétaires de son devancier et que lorsqu'il conquit l'Orient sa chancellerie fit expédier dans tout l'empire les formules qui avaient déjà été inscrites sur les pièces de Licinius, *Providentiae Augg.* et *Caess.*, en supprimant seulement la représentation païenne de Jupiter, qui d'ailleurs indiquait spécialement la dynastie divine de Licinius.

III. *Au revers.*—PROVIDENTIAE . CAES . au singulier, avec le même type du revers.

- Au droit.*—1. FL . IVL . CRISPVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Inédite ; ne diffère de Cohen 123 que par le mot CAES. 1^{re} série, off. B—S ; Voetter ; 4^{me} série, off. B—Δ ; Voetter.
2. CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 160 ; 2^{me} série, off. A—B—E—S ; BR. MUS.
3. Même légende du droit et même buste à gauche. Pièce inédite. 2^{me} série, off. Γ ; BR. MUS. ; ne diffère de Cohen 165 que par le mot CAES.
4. FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche. Inédite ; ne diffère de Cohen 167 que par le mot CAES. 2^{me} série, off. B—S ; BR. MUS. ; 4^{me} série, off. B—Δ—S ; BR. MUS. ; 6^{me} série, off. B—S ; BR. MUS.

Ces monnaies ne différant des précédentes que par le mot CAES au singulier, l'on peut en conclure que l'on n'est pas en présence d'une frappe régulière mais simplement d'une erreur des ouvriers qui gravaient les coins à Nicomédie et dont la négligence ou l'ignorance sont constantes à l'époque qui nous occupe.

IV. *Au revers.*—SECVRITAS . REIPVBLICE (*sic*). La Sécurité voilée, debout à gauche, tenant un rameau baissé et soutenant sa robe.

Au droit.—FL . HELENA . AVGVSTA. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 13. 1^{re} série, off. Γ—Δ—E—S ; FR. 13895, 13900-1 ; BR. MUS. ; Voetter. 3^{me} série, off. Γ—Δ ; BR. MUS. ; FR. 13869-70. Collection Louis Théry. [PL. VII., No. 6.]

La légende *Securitas Reipublice*, avec la contraction de *ae* en *e*, est un nouvel exemple de l'envoi des légendes et des types monétaires d'Orient en

Occident après la victoire définitive de Constantin sur Licinius.

La contraction de *ae* en *e* se présente plusieurs fois dans les légendes monétaires des pièces sorties des ateliers d'Orient au III^me siècle. Le Colonel Voetter en a fourni plusieurs exemples tirés des monnaies d'Antioche.⁷² Cet atelier tomba dans les mains de Constantin peu après la reddition de Licinius à Nicomédie en Septembre 324, car j'ai montré dans mon étude sur l'atelier d'Antioche⁷³ que les monnaies de *Helena Aug.* y parurent avant l'émission qui débuta lors de l'élévation de Constance II César en Novembre 324. Ce fut donc peu de temps après sa victoire définitive et avant d'élever au rang de César son fils Constance II que Constantin donna l'ordre de frapper ces pièces à l'effigie et au nom de sa mère, qui portent la légende *Securitas Reipublice*, et d'en expédier le modèle dans tout l'empire. C'est ainsi que la contraction du *ae* en *e* se remarque à cette époque sur cette pièce de Helena dont le modèle fut envoyé aussitôt après la guerre d'un atelier d'Orient, probablement d'Antioche, où cette contraction était fréquente; tandis que les autres légendes analogues dont la frappe ne fut décidée que plus tard, en même temps que celle de toute une nouvelle émission pour tout l'empire réorganisé, ne présentent pas la même orthographe⁷⁴ spéciale à certaines villes d'Orient.

⁷² Voetter, *Die Legenden der Reichsmünzstätte Antiochia*; voir également l'intéressant extrait de Kubitschek: *Rückgang des Lateinischen in Osten des römischen Reiches*, dans le bulletin de la *Numismatische Gesellschaft in Wien* du 17 Décembre 1902.

⁷³ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 231.

⁷⁴ En effet une chancellerie régulière dut être réorganisée après la guerre et dut envoyer des modèles de légendes écrites suivant l'orthographe non pas d'une ville mais de tout l'empire.

C'est le cas des deux pièces suivantes.

V. *Au revers*.—SALVS . REIPVBLICAE. Fausta voilée, debout à gauche, tenant deux enfants dans ses bras.

Au droit.—FLAV . MAX . FAVSTA . AVG. Son buste en cheveux ondulés à droite et portant un collier de perles. Cohen, 6 et 7. 1^{re} série, off. B; Voetter; 3^{me} série, off. A—E; Voetter; 5^{me} série, off. A—B—Γ—E; Voetter.

VI. *Au revers*.—SPES . REIPVBLICAE. Avec le même type.

Même droit. Cohen, 15. 1^{re} série, off. B—Δ; Fr. 15340; Br. Mus.; 3^{me} série, off. A—E; Fr. 15329—30; 5^{me} série, Off. E; Br. Mus.

Pièces d'or et Médaillons faisant partie de l'émission.

Les pièces d'or de cette émission sont de l'espèce du *Solidus* ou 72^{me} de la livre, dont le poids moyen est de 4 gr. 55 c.; tandis que les pièces de l'émission précédente étaient de l'espèce du 60^{me} de la livre.

1. *Au revers*.—PIETAS . AVGVSTI . NOSTRI. Constantin en habit militaire, debout à gauche, relevant une femme tourelée à genoux (Constantinople) que lui présente un soldat, et tenant un sceptre. Il est couronné par la Victoire, qui tient une palme.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 393; Fr. 1529A; 4 gr. 48 c.; 19 m.m.;
exergue $\frac{|}{SMN}$ [Pl. VII, No. 7.] (Effigie de Constantin le grand.) Br. Mus., avec l'exergue $\frac{|}{SMNC}$

La lettre C est une forme cursive du digamma C.

Constantin porta le diadème après sa conquête de l'Orient en 324. La pièce ci-dessus et plusieurs médaillons analogues ont dû être frappés pour célébrer

cette conquête, après la prise de Constantinople. Aussi la figure féminine tourelée me semble, en raison de la représentation ordinaire de Rome et de Constantinople par des femmes tourelées, pouvoir être considérée comme la ville de Constantinople, et la *Pietas* de l'empereur qui relève cette femme est la qualité de l'empereur qui fut célébrée plusieurs fois par les Panégyristes : la Pitié à l'égard des nations vaincues.⁷⁵

II. Même pièce, mais en médaillon, avec l'exergue
 $\overline{\text{SMN}}$; FR.; 20 gr. 36 c.; H. Mus. V.; Musée
 de Berlin; Musée de Carlsruhe, avec $\overline{\text{SMNÉ}}$

III. *Au revers*.—PIETAS . AVGVSTI . N. Même type du revers.

Au droit.—D . N . CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Son buste radié, drapé et cuirassé à gauche, à mi-corps, levant la main droite et tenant un globe. Cohen, 291, médaillon d'or; FR. No. 83, 8 gr. 90 c.; 26 m.m. Médaillon d'or du poids de deux *solidi*.

IV. *Au revers*.—SPES . REIPVBLICAE, avec le type déjà décrit avec cette légende.

.. *Au droit*.—FLAV . MAX . FAVSTA . AVG. Son buste à droite, drapé et coiffé en cheveux. Cohen, 12; FR. No. 85A; 8 gr. 84 c.; exergue $\overline{\text{SMN}}$
 Médaillon d'or du poids de deux *solidi*.

V. *Au revers*.—SALVS . REIPVBLICAE, avec le revers déjà décrit avec cette légende.

Au droit.—Même légende et même buste. Cohen, 5; BR. Mus.; 4 gr. 34 c.; 20 m.m.; Gneecchi.
Solidus; exergue $\overline{\text{SMN}}$

⁷⁵ *Nazarii Panegyricus, Eumen., x., cap. 37, et Eumen. Paneg., vii., cap. 20*: "singularem tuam, Constantine, pietatem," etc., etc.

VI. *Au revers*.—SECVRITAS . PERPETVAE (*sic*). Constantin en habit militaire, debout à gauche, érigeant un trophée et tenant un sceptre.

Au droit.—D . N . CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . CAES.
Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite.
Cohen, 178, gravée p. 386 ; autrefois collection
Rollin ; exergue $\frac{I}{SMN}$

Une pièce analogue de la collection du British Muscum porte l'exergue de Sirmium, atelier qui ne fut ouvert que de 320 à 326.

VII. *Au revers*.—VIRTVS . CONSTANTINI . CAVS . (*sic*). Constantin II, en habit militaire, marchant à droite, portant une haste et un trophée et poussant du pied gauche un captif assis à terre et retournant la tête vers lui.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 243 ; Fr. 1573A ; 4 gr. 50 c. ; 20 m.m. *Solidus* ; exergue $\frac{I}{SMN}$ [Pl. VII., No. 8.]

Des pièces analogues, célébrant la *Virtus* de Constantin et des Césars, ont été frappées à Thessalonica à la même époque. Cette pièce se classe dans cette émission par le fait que le *solidus* ne semble avoir été frappé dans l'atelier de Nicomédie qu'après la prise de cette ville par Constantin.

VIII. *Au revers*.—VIRTVS . CAESARIN . (*sic*). Crispus tenant un bouclier, galopant à droite et frappant de sa haste un ennemi à genoux ; sous le cheval un ennemi renversé et un bouclier.

Au droit.—FL . IVL . CRISPVS . NOB . CAES. Son buste lauré à gauche, vu de face, armé d'une haste et d'un bouclier. Pièce inédite, voisine de Cohen-164 ; H. Mus. V., No. 27049 ; 4 gr. 55 c. ; 20 m.m. *Solidus* ; exergue $\frac{I}{SMNM}$ (*sic*).
Le No. 164 de Cohen donne au revers VIRTVS . CAES . N . N.

IX. *Au revers.*—FELICITAS . PERPETVA . AVG . ET . CAESS . N . N. L'empereur en habit militaire et nimbé, assis, tenant une haste ; de chaque côté un soldat debout avec un bouclier et une haste.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . CAES. Son buste lauré à droite. Cohen, 104 ; 45 m.m. ;
exergue $\frac{1}{\text{SMN}}$ Médaillon d'or de l'ancien catalogue du Cabinet de France.

Le nimbe apparut sur plusieurs médaillons de Tarragone et de Trèves comme sur le médaillon ci-dessus de Nicomédie de 324 à 326,⁷⁶ c'est à dire pendant la période qui suivit la guerre de 324 et la réunion de tout l'empire dans les mains de Constantin. L'on a vu plus haut que Licinius se l'était attribué à lui et à son fils en 314. Mais il y a lieu de croire que le nimbe ne garda plus après la victoire définitive de Constantin la signification païenne qu'il avait auparavant, car Constantin, qui avait supprimé la consécration païenne des empereurs après leur mort, n'eût pas maintenu les signes de la divinité pour lui de son vivant.

L'on dut frapper à partir de l'élévation de Constance II au rang de César le 8 Novembre 324 la pièce d'or suivante.

X. *Au revers.*—PRINCIPI . IVVENTVTIS. Constance II, en habit militaire, debout de face, regardant à droite, tenant une enseigne surmontée d'un aigle et une haste ; à droite une enseigne, surmontée d'une main.


Au droit.—FL . IVL . CONSTANTINVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Variété de Cohen 158 ; H. Mus. V., No. 27700 ; 4 gr. 50 c. ; 20 m.m. *Solidus* ; exergue $\frac{1}{\text{SMN}}$

⁷⁶ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Trèves*, 2^{me} partie, *Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1901, p. 52 de l'article, en cours de publication.


Le médaillon suivant n'a pu être frappé que de 324 à 326, entre l'élévation de Constance II César et la mort de Crispus.

XI. *Au revers.* — CRISPVS . ET . CONSTANTIVS . NOBB . CAESS. Leurs bustes en regard. Celui de Crispus est à mi-corps à droite, lauré, avec le manteau impérial, tenant un sceptre surmonté d'un aigle et un globe. Celui de Constance II est lauré, drapé et cuirassé à gauche.

Au droit. — D . N . CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Buste radié de Constantin à gauche, avec le manteau impérial, levant la droite et tenant un globe.

Cohen, tome vii., page 321. Exergue  SMN
Médaille d'or de 8 gr. 80 c. ; 25 m.m. Double *solidus*. Anciennement collection Ponton d'Amécourt.

Constantin porte rarement sur ses pièces la couronne radiée.

Les trois médaillons d'or qui suivent ont été frappés à l'occasion de la troisième entrée à Rome de Constantin lors de ses *Vicennalia*, le 21 Juillet 326.⁷⁷ En effet les pièces et médaillons connus qui célèbrent les *Adventus* de Constantin à Rome ont tous été frappés dans ses états, soit à Londres et Aquilée pour les deux premiers *Adventus* en 312 et en 314,⁷⁸ à Antioche, Constantinople⁷⁹ et Nicomédie pour le troisième en 326 ; et Nicomédie n'appartint à Constantin qu'après l'année 324. De plus l'un des médaillons qui vont être décrits présente un buste diadémé et porte un exergue  SMN qui le classe

⁷⁷ C. I. L., I, p. 397.


⁷⁸ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Londres*, Num. Chron., 1900, p. 121. *L'Atelier monétaire d'Aquilée*, Rivista It. d. Num., 1901, p. 801.

⁷⁹ *L'Atelier d'Antioche*, Num. Chron., 1899, p. 236. *L'Atelier de Constantinople*, Revue Numismatique, 1901, p. 178.

dans l'émission présente, et un autre est tout à fait analogue à un médaillon frappé à Antioche à la même époque. O. Seeck a conclu de l'étude des rares textes que nous possédons sur ce sujet que ces médaillons devaient être distribués aux grands personnages de l'empire et aux ordres des Sénateurs et des Chevaliers à l'occasion d'événements importants.⁸⁰ Cet événement est dans le cas présent l'entrée de Constantin à Rome, le 21 Juillet 326.


On trouve—

XII. *Au revers*.—ADVENTVS . AVG . N. Constantin à cheval, levant la main droite, précédé par la Victoire qui tient une couronne et une palme.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 5; médaillon d'or; 26 m.m. Ancien catalogue du Cabinet de France. Exergue 

Cet exergue, qui se trouve dans la 1^{re} série de l'émission présente, ne se rencontre pas dans les séries monétaires émises en 312 et en 314. Il fixe donc la frappe de ce médaillon en 326.

XIII. *Au revers*.—ADVENTVS . AVG . N. Constantin en habit militaire, à cheval à gauche, levant la main droite, et tenant une haste.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . P . F . AVG. Sa tête laurée à droite. Cohen, 71. Exergue 

Un médaillon analogue d'Antioche est classé dans l'émission de 324 à 326 par son exergue.⁸¹

XIV. *Au revers*.—FELIX . ADVENTVS . AVG . N. Constantin en habit militaire, à cheval au pas à gauche, levant la main droite et tenant un sceptre.

⁸⁰ O. Seeck, *Zu den Festmünzen Constantins und seiner Familie*, *Zeitsch. f. Numism.*, xx., 24.

⁸¹ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899, p. 286.

Au droit.—D . N . CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 151; H. Mus. V., No. 32343, et Fr. No. 25; 6 gr. 76 c.; 24 m.m. Pièce d'un *solidus* et demi, dont O. Seeck a indiqué également la présence parmi ces médaillons. Exergue $\frac{I}{SMN}$
[Pl. VII., No. 9.] (Effigie de Constantin.)

Les années 325 et 326 furent signalées par plusieurs évènements importants. Ceux qui semblent avoir eu une influence sur la frappe des médaillons sont les *Vicennalia* de Constantin, qui tombaient au 25 Juillet 326, et furent célébrés une première fois une année plus tôt, en 325, à Nicomédie, et une seconde fois à Rome en 326, et d'autre part les *Decennalia* des Césars, qui tombaient au 1^{er} Mars 327, mais durent être célébrés également une année plus tôt, le 1^{er} Mars 326, à Nicomédie, tandis que Constantin se trouvait encore en Orient. Il faut encore noter le consulat de Constantin en 326.

O. Seeck a émis l'hypothèse ingénieuse que les médaillons qui portent en légende *Equis Romanus* ou *Senatus* et la représentation de l'empereur étaient offerts aux Chevaliers et aux Sénateurs, dont l'ordre était ainsi honoré d'une mention spéciale de l'empereur.⁸² Ces pièces durent être frappées à l'occasion des *Vicennalia* de Constantin. Quant aux pièces d'or ou d'argent qui furent émises en l'honneur des *Decennalia* des Césars, elles portent l'indication des *Vota* ou bien présentent un type tout spécial, le César ou l'Empereur les yeux levés au ciel, la tête ceinte d'un bandeau ou diadème oriental, dont il sera question plus loin.

⁸² O. Seeck, *loc. cit.*, p. 24.

XV. *Au revers*.—EQVES · ROMANVS. Constantin à cheval, au pas à droite, et levant la main droite.

Au droit.—D · N · CONSTANTINVS · MAX · AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 138; médaillon d'or; 23 m.m.; Vente de Moustier. Exergue $\frac{1}{SMN}$

XVI. *Au revers*.—EQVIS · ROMANVS. Même type et même exergue.

Au droit.—D · N · CONSTANTINVS · MAX · AVG. Son buste lauré, drapé et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 139; Fr., Nos. 23 et 24; 6 gr. 62 c.; 23 m.m. [Pl. VII, No. 10.] $1\frac{1}{2}$ Solidus; H. Mus. V., No. 32339; 25 m.m.; Musées de Berlin, de Turin. (Effigie de Constantin).

Ces deux médaillons avec les légendes *Equis* et *Eqves* sont un exemple des confusions de lettres fréquentes à Nicomédie.

XVII. *Au revers*.—SENATVS. Constantin lauré debout à gauche, en toge, tenant un globe et un sceptre court.

Au droit.—D · N · CONSTANTINVS · AVG. Sa tête diadémée à droite, levant les yeux. H. Mus. V., médaillon d'or, No. 26277.

Un médaillon voisin de Thessalonica est classé par son exergue dans l'émission contemporaine de celle-ci. J'ai déjà indiqué l'année 326 comme celle de la frappe de ces médaillons.⁶³ Mais il est possible aussi qu'ils aient été frappés également en 325 lors de la célébration à Nicomédie des *Vicennalia* de Constantin. Le médaillon qui vient d'être décrit présente un type de tête qui se trouve répété sur toutes les pièces des Césars émises en 326 à

⁶³ J. Maurice, *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1898, pp. 381-2, séance du 14 Décembre; et *L'Atelier de Thessalonica*, *Numism. Zeitschrift*, 1901, p. 139.

l'occasion ou après l'accomplissement de leurs *Decennalia*, et qui à partir de cette date réapparut à chaque anniversaire des *Vota* des Césars et des Augustes jusqu'à l'Empereur Julien inclusivement. Ce sont les têtes diadémées d'empereurs, les yeux levés au ciel, sans légende, et la tête ceinte du bandeau royal ou diadème, que l'on voit au droit des pièces présentant au revers les *Vota* des empereurs dans une couronne de laurier, mais plus spécialement sur les pièces d'or et d'argent, et de même sur les pièces d'or qui présentent au revers les noms des empereurs, telles que celles qui furent émises en 326 à Nicomédie et qui vont être décrites. Ces faits coïncident avec ce qu'Eusèbe dit de Constantin,⁸⁴ qu'il se fit représenter sur les monnaies d'or le visage tourné vers le ciel, dans l'attitude de la prière, et que ces pièces circulèrent dans tout l'empire.

Nous savons donc à quelle occasion ces pièces parurent: ce fut aux anniversaires des avènements des empereurs, lors de *Quinquennalia*, *Decennalia*, etc., etc. Nous savons également que l'origine de cette coutume remonte à l'année du Concile de Nicée ou à celle qui la suivit (326) et il est probable que Constantin voulut donner une attitude de prière, indiquer une invocation de la puissance de Dieu, sur ces pièces, ainsi que le dit Eusèbe; mais l'on ne trouve pas de symbole particulier du Christianisme sur ces pièces, et c'est probablement la raison pour laquelle non seulement les empereurs Ariens mais même Julien les firent émettre aux anniversaires de leurs *Vota*.

Ces pièces parurent principalement aux deux anni-

⁸⁴ Eusèbe, *Vita Constantinæ*, iv, 11: "ἐν τοῖς χρυσοῖς νομίσμασι τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐξουίου ὄψιν γράφεσθαι διετόπου, ὥς ἂν βλέπειν δόκειν ἀνατεταμένους πρὸς θεοῦ, τρέποντες ἐξ ὀμῶν," etc.

versaires de l'année 326, les *Decennalia* des Césars le 1^{er} Mars, et les *Vicennalia* de Constantin le 25 Juillet, dans la plupart des ateliers de l'empire alors ouverts.

On trouve —

XVIII. *Au revers*.—CONSTANTINVS . AVG . en légende et dans le champ de la pièce deux couronnes de laurier entrelacées.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Tête diadémée de Constantin à droite, les yeux tournés vers le ciel. Cohen, 105; H. Mus. V., No. 25945. *Solidus*.

Exergue $\frac{1}{N}$

XIX. *Au revers*.—Même légende. Victoire assise à gauche tenant un globe surmonté d'une Victoire et une corne d'abondance; derrière elle un bouchier.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Sa tête diadémée à droite, les yeux tournés vers le ciel. Cohen, 102. *Solidus*;

20 m.m.; Berlin. Exergue $\frac{1}{SMN}$

XX. *Au revers*.—CONSTANTINVS . CAESAR. Victoire marchant à gauche, tenant une couronne et une palme.

Au droit.—Tête diadémée de Constantin II à droite, les yeux tournés vers le ciel dans l'attitude de l'oraison comme sur les autres pièces. Cohen, 75; H. Mus. V.; No. 27201; 4 gr. 53 c.;

20 m.m. *Solidus*; Fr. Exergue $\frac{1}{N}$ [Pl.

VII., No. 11.]

XXI. *Au revers*.—CONSTANTINVS . CAESAR. Même type du revers. Tête diadémée pareille de Constance II. Cohen, 14; Fr. 1588; 4 gr. 50 c.; 20 m.m.

Solidus; coll. Gneccchi. Exergue $\frac{1}{N}$

XXII. *Au revers*.—CRISPVS CAESAR. Même type du revers.

Au droit.—Tête analogue de Crispus. Cohen, 59; Fr.; 4 gr. 42 c.; 19 m.m.; coll. Gneccchi.

* Exergue $\frac{1}{N}$

Toutes ces têtes ont pour diadème le simple bandeau royal, tandis que les diadèmes représentés sur les médailles frappées en d'autres circonstances sont formés de pierres précieuses ou ornés de perles. La pièce d'argent suivante fut frappée avec les pièces d'or qui viennent d'être décrites.

XXIII. *Au revers.* — CONSTANTINVS AVGVSTVS. Même revers.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Tête analogue de Constantin à droite. Pièce d'argent ; coll. Gneccchi ; 20 m.m.

Les pièces d'argent qui vont être décrites sont de l'espèce du *Miliarense*,⁸⁵ qui fut frappée de 324 à 326 ainsi qu'en témoigne l'émission de Sirmium qui parut à cette époque. Ce fut, à ce qu'il semble, l'époque de création du *Miliarense*.

Avec l'exergue $\frac{|}{SMN}$ on trouve :

XXIV. *Au revers.*—FELICITAS . ROMANORVM. Constantin debout entre deux de ses fils en habit militaire et s'appuyant sur des hastes, sous une voûte soutenue par des colonnes.

Au droit.—1. CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 150 ; Gneccchi, *Miliarense*.

2. D . N . CRISPVS . NOB . CAESAR. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Pièce inédite ; Br. Mus., *Miliarense*. Belle effigie de Crispus. [Pl. VII, No. 12.]

3. FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré à droite avec le manteau impérial et la cuirasse. Pièce inédite. Musée de Berlin ; 4 gr. 40 c. ; 23 m.m.

⁸⁵ G. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, tome i., 560-70.

Le *Miliarense* est le 72^{me} de la livre romaine; il pèse en moyenne 4 gr. 55 c. et a de 23 à 24 millimètres de diamètre. Le médaillon d'or suivant se classe encore dans cette émission par ses *Vota* et par son exergue de la troisième série.

XXV. *Au revers*.—VOTIS . X . CAESS . N . N . en trois lignes dans le champ; au dessous ΜΝΓ, dans une couronne, en haut de laquelle est un aigle.

Au droit.—D . N . CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . CAES.
Son buste diadémé, drapé et cuirassé à droite.
Cohen, 279; 9 gr.; 25 m.m. [Pl. VII,
No. 13.] (Effigie de Constantin II.)

NEUVIÈME ÉMISSION.

*Frappée depuis l'élévation de Delmatius César le 18 Septembre 335 jusqu'à la proclamation des fils de Constantin le Grand Augustes et la frappe des monnaies où Constantin reçoit le nom de Divus Constantinus Pater Augustorum, le 9 Septembre 337.*⁶⁶

En effet l'atelier de Nicomédie resta fermé depuis la cessation de la frappe des monnaies de Crispus et de Fausta en Septembre 326⁶⁷ jusqu'à l'apparition des monnaies de Delmatius, élu César le 18 Septembre 335. On trouve également dans l'émission présente les pièces de Constant I, élu César le 25 Décembre 333 et celles de Rome et de Constantinople, qui furent émises depuis les fêtes de l'inauguration officielle et religieuse de Con-

⁶⁶ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Constantinople*, *Revue Numismatique*, 1891, pp. 208-209.

⁶⁷ J. Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire d'Antioche*, *Num. Chron.*, 1899.

stantinople en présence de Constantin et de la cour le 11 Mai 330.⁸⁸

Les pièces de bronze de cette émission sont de deux sortes. Les plus grandes sont une variété du *Nummus Centenionalis* d'un poids moyen de 2 gr. 50 c.; ce sont principalement celles qui offrent au revers la représentation de deux étendards entre deux soldats. Les plus petites, désignées dans Cohen comme quinaires, sont la moitié du *Nummus Centenionalis* de 3 gr. 50 c. et ont en conséquence un poids moyen de 1 gr. 75 c.⁸⁹

Il existe des pièces de Delmatius des deux sortes, ce qui conduit à admettre que l'émission ne parut qu'à partir de son élévation comme César le 18 Septembre 335. L'atelier de Nicomédie était donc resté fermé de 326 à 335.

Exergues des monnaies de bronze de l'émission—

SMNA SMNB SMNF SMNA SMNE SMNS

A. *Pièces de l'espèce du Nummus Centenionalis réduit au poids moyen de 2 gr. 50 c.*

On trouve—

- I. *Au revers.*—GLORIA . EXERCITVS . Deux soldats, casqués, debout et se regardant, tenant chacun une haste et appuyés sur un bouclier; entre eux deux enseignes militaires surmontées de drapeaux.

⁸⁸ J'ai montré dans mon étude sur Constantinople (*Rev. Numismatique*, 1901, p. 175) que cette capitale reçut son nom nouveau le 8 Novembre 324 mais ne fut inaugurée qu'en 330.

⁸⁹ E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, tome I., 612-614.

Au droit.—1. CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 254 ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S ; Fr. 14654 ; 2 gr. 25 c. ; 17 m.m. ; 14655, 14657, 14682 ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter. [Pl. VII., No. 14.]

2. CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 122 ; off. A—B—Γ— — —Ε—S ; Fr. 15717—18 ; 2 gr. 50 c. ; 18 m.m. ; Br. Mus. ; Musée de Turin ; Voetter.

3. FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 104 ; off. A— —Γ—Δ—Ε— ; Fr. 16192, 16201—2, 16208—9 ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter.

4. FL . CONSTANS . NOB . CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Cohen, 72 ; off. A— —Δ—Ε— ; Fr. 15966 ; Voetter.

5. FL . IVL . CONSTANTIS . (sic) NOB . C. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Pièce inédite ; off. A—Ε ; Fr. 15962 ; Voetter.

6. FL . ΔALMATIVS (sic) . NOB . CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 14 ; off. Ε ; Fr. 15572 ; 2 gr. 50 c. ; 17 m.m. ; Voetter.

II. *Au revers.*—Sans légende. Victoire debout à gauche, posant le pied sur une proue de vaisseau, tenant un sceptre et appuyée sur un bouclier.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINOPOLI . (sic). Son buste casqué à gauche avec le casque lauré, tenant un sceptre et portant le manteau impérial. Cohen, 21 ; Fr. 15204—5 ; off. A—B—Δ—Ε ; Voetter ; Br. Mus.

III. *Au revers.*—Sans légende. La Louve à gauche, allaitant Romulus et Rémus et les regardant. Au-dessus deux étoiles ; entre les étoiles deux ou trois points.

Au droit.—VRBS . ROMA. Son buste casqué à gauche avec une aigrette sur le casque et le manteau impérial. Cohen, 17 ; Fr. 15272—3 ; off. A—Ε—S ; Voetter ; Br. Mus. [Pl. VII., No. 15.]

B. *Pièces du poids moyen de 1 gr. 75 c.*
(demi-Centennialis).

IV. *Au revers.*—GLORIA . EXERCITVS. Avec le type du revers déjà décrit, si ce n'est qu'il n'y a qu'une enseigne entre les soldats.

Au droit.—1. CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Son buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 250 ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S ; Fr. 14610, 14613—4, 14616 ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter.

2. CONSTANTINVS . IVN . NOB . C. Son buste lauré et cuirassé à droite. Cohen, 114 ; off. A—B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S ; Br. Mus. ; Musée de Turin ; Voetter.

3. Même légende. Même buste à gauche. Pièce inédite ; off. A ; Musée de Turin.

4. FL . IVL . CONSTANTIVS . NOB . C. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Cohen, 92 ; off. Γ—Δ ; Fr. 16147 ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter.

5. FL . CONSTANS . NOB . CAES. Son buste diadémé et drapé à gauche. Cohen, 47 ; off. B—Γ—Δ—Ε—S ; Voetter.

6. FL . ΔALMATIVS . NOB . CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. Pièce inédite ; variété de Cohen 5, avec l' ε remplacé par A ; off. Δ—Ε ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter. [Pl. VII., No. 16.]

7. VRBS . ROMA. Buste de Rome à gauche avec une aigrette sur le casque et le manteau impérial. Cohen, 1 ; off. B—Ε ; Voetter.

8. CONSTANTINOPOLI . (*sic*). Buste de Constantinople à gauche avec le casque lauré et le manteau impérial, tenant un sceptre. Cohen, 5 ; off. Δ ; Voetter.

V. *Au revers.*—Sans légende. La Louve à gauche, allaitant Romulus et Rémus et les regardant. Au dessus d'eux deux étoiles ; entre les étoiles deux ou trois points.

Au droit.—VRBS . ROMA . Avec le buste déjà décrit. Cohen, 19, pièce indiquée comme quinaire; off. B—S; FR. 15274; 1 gr. 71 c.; 19 m.m.; Voetter; 3 points entre les étoiles.

Les points placés au dessus de la Louve sont des différents monétaires, tandis que les étoiles entre lesquelles sont les points font partie du type du revers de ces pièces et sont un souvenir des Dioscures, au dessus de la tête desquels se tenaient ces étoiles et qui étaient les divinités protectrices de Rome.

VI. Sans légende. Victoire debout à gauche, posant le pied sur une proue de vaisseau, tenant un sceptre et appuyée sur un bouclier.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINOPOLI . (*sic*). Avec le buste déjà décrit. Cohen, 22, pièces indiquées comme quinaires; Voetter; Off. Δ—Ε.

Les *Vicennalia* de Constantin avaient été fêtées en 325 à Nicomédie et en 326 à Rome; ses *Tricennalia* furent célébrés une première fois à Constantinople le 25 Juillet 335,⁹⁰ avec beaucoup d'éclat, suivant le dire d'Eusèbe, qui y rattache l'envoi de députations de divers pays, et notamment de l'Inde, vers l'Empereur. Ces fêtes durent se renouveler en 336, année qui fut également marquée par le mariage de Constance II, le second fils vivant de Constantin depuis la mort de Crispus. De plus, en 336 tombaient les *Vicennalia* des Césars, qui donnèrent lieu à une nouvelle frappe de monnaies des Césars, dont les têtes, le regard tourné vers le ciel, portent le diadème ou bandeau royal.

⁹⁰ La Chronique Paschale les indique en 335. *Idatti Fast.*: "Constantino et Albino, his cons., tricennalia edidit Constantinus Aug. die VIII kal. Aug." Euseb., *Vita Const.*, iv., 46, 47, 50.

Ce fut à l'occasion de la célébration des *Tricennalia* en 335 que durent être principalement frappées les pièces d'or et d'argent suivantes :

I. *Au revers*.—VICTORIA . CONSTANTINI . AVG. Victoire assise à droite sur une cuirasse et un bouclier et écrivant VOT . XXX sur un bouclier que lui présente un génie.

Au droit.—1. CONSTANTINVS . MAX . AVG. Sa tête diadémée à droite, les yeux levés au ciel. Cohen, 617; Musée de Berlin; 4 gr. 30 c.; 24 m.m. *Solidus* de grande dimension, tel que sont ceux de la fin du règne de Constantin.
Exergue $\frac{|}{SMNA}$; H. Mus. V. $\frac{|}{SMNC}$

L'on retrouve ici le type des têtes avec les yeux levés au ciel, dans l'attitude de l'oraison, qui ont été indiquées par Eusèbe et dont la frappe se répète à l'occasion de chaque anniversaire important du couronnement des empereurs, c'est à dire à l'occasion de la célébration de leurs *Vota*.

2. Même légende du droit, mais le buste diadémé et drapé à droite. Cohen, 616, mais *Solidus*; H. Mus V. $\frac{|}{SMNF}$, peut-être $\frac{|}{SMNM}$; exergue irrégulier, où la lettre M finale qui n'a pas de sens, mais qui se retrouve sur plusieurs pièces d'or de Nicomédie.

II. *Au revers*.—D . N . CONSTANTINI . MAX . AVG. autour d'une couronne de laurier dans laquelle on lit VOT . XXX.

Au droit.—CONSTANTINVS . AVG. Sa tête diadémée à droite, les yeux levés au ciel. Pièce d'argent inédite du Musée de Berlin; exergue $\frac{|}{SMNF}$

Voisine du petit bronze de Cohen 130. Les couronnes de laurier que l'on trouve sur les pièces de ce genre autour du chiffre des *Vota* ne s'y trouvent pas représentées sans motifs, mais elles doivent commémorer les


jeux célébrés en l'honneur des anniversaires impériaux lors de la célébration des *Vota*.

Les médaillons d'or, suivants, bien que la lettre d'officine S ne soit pas inscrite sur le médaillon à l'exergue comme sur les autres pièces de l'émission, mais dans le champ du revers, ont dû être frappés lors des anniversaires de 335 et de 336, car, en effet, au droit de ces pièces l'empereur a les yeux levés au ciel, dans l'attitude de l'oraison, comme sur toutes les médailles émises lors des anniversaires des *Vicennalia* et *Tricennalia* de Constantin comme des *Decennalia* et *Vicennalia* des Césars.

On trouve—


III. *Au revers*.—GLORIA · CONSTANTINI · AVG. Constantin casqué et en habit militaire, marchant à droite, portant un trophée et trainant un barbare par les cheveux. Il pose le pied gauche levé sur un captif assis devant lui à terre.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Tête diadémée de Constantin à droite, les yeux levés au ciel. Cohen, 237.

Exergue  Médaillon d'or ; 6 gr. 34 c. à 6 gr. 81 c.

IV. *Au revers*.—Même légende. Constantin debout à gauche, entre deux captifs assis les mains liées derrière le dos ; tenant un globe surmonté d'une Victoire et une haste.


Au droit.—Sans légende. Tête diadémée de Constantin à droite, les yeux levés vers le ciel. Cohen, 240 ; Br. Mts. ; médaillon d'or ; 6 gr. 25 c.

Exergue et lettre dans le champ 

Une série de pièces d'or ou d'argent présentant aux revers les noms des empereurs et aux droits leurs têtes diadémées, avec le simple bandeau royal et la face et les yeux tournés vers le ciel, fut frappée lors des anniversaires de 335 (*Tricennalia* de Constantin) et 336


(répétition des mêmes et *Vicennalia* des Césars). Les *Vicennalia* des Césars se répétèrent en 337 et donnèrent lieu à l'émission des mêmes pièces. Plus tard l'on émit des monnaies présentant la légende *SECVRITAS . REIPVBLICE* et *VOT . XX*, dont la description sort de notre sujet, car elles parurent après l'élévation des Augustes, dont ils indiquent le titre, en Septembre. Ces pièces démontrent qu'après la célébration des *Vota*, l'on en répétait le chiffre jusqu'à l'accomplissement des suivants; mais elles ne sont pas les monnaies frappées à l'occasion même de la célébration de l'anniversaire comme la monnaie de Delmatius dont la description suit. Je n'ai pas trouvé de pièce analogue de Constant I. Quant aux pièces des autres Césars elles ont été décrites dans l'émission précédente.

V. *Au revers*.—*DELMATIVS . CAESAR*. Victoire marchant à gauche tenant une couronne et une palme.

Au droit.—Sans légende. Tête diadémée avec le simple bandeau royal de Delmace à droite et les yeux levés au ciel; exergue  Cohen, 3; pièce d'argent; Br. Mus. [Pl. VII., No. 17.]

L'on ne frappa également que pendant cette émission les pièces de Constant I, élu César en 333, telles que la suivante.

I. *Au revers*.—*PRINCIPI . IVVENTVTIS*. Constant I en habit militaire, debout à droite, tenant une haste transversale et un globe.

Au droit.—*FL . CONSTANS . NOB . CAES*. Son buste lauré et drapé à gauche. Variété inédite de Cohen 94. *Triens* ou tiers de *Solidus*; exergue ; H. Mus. V., No. 27459; 1 gr. 65 c.; 17 m.m.

L'on sait que les pièces désignant les Césars comme princes de la jeunesse étaient émises dès leur avènement.

Après la mort de Constantin le Grand, survenue le 22 Mai 337, l'empire resta dans un état d'anarchie jusqu'à la proclamation des trois Augustes, Constantin II, Constance II et Constant I, le 9 Septembre 337. L'atelier de Nicomédie ne semble pas avoir émis de monnaies nouvelles ni avoir changé le chiffre de ses officines pendant cette période, qui donna lieu à Constantinople à la frappe des monnaies qui présentent l'unique exergue $\frac{1}{\text{CONS}}$.⁹¹ Après le 9 Septembre 337, l'on émit les monnaies qui consacraient la mémoire du *Divus Constantinus Pater Augustorum*.

L'on trouve à cette époque deux séries d'exergues.

1^{re} série, $\frac{1}{\text{SMNA}}-\text{B}-\Gamma-\Delta-\text{E}-\text{S}-\text{Z}-\text{H}-\Theta-\text{I}$.

2^{me} série, $\frac{1}{\text{SMNA}}$; mêmes lettres d'officines.

Pièces de la moitié du Centenionalis.

On trouve—

I. *Au revers*.—VN . MR. La Piété ou une figure féminine debout à droite et voilée, les mains enveloppées dans sa robe.

Au droit.—DN . CONSTANTINVS . PT . AVGG. Sa tête voilée à droite. Cohen, 716 ; 1^{re} et 2^{me} série ; off. A à I ; Br. Mus. ; Voetter ; Fr. [Pl. VII, No. 18.]

II. *Au revers*.—Sans légende. Constantin dans un quadriga au galop à droite tendant la main à une main qui descend du ciel pour le recevoir.

Même légende et même tête ou buste au droit. Cohen, 760.

1^{re} série, off. A à S ; Br. Mus. ; Fr. ; Voetter.

2^{me} série, off. A à S ; de même.

JULES MAURICE.

⁹¹ Maurice, *L'Atelier monétaire de Constantinople, Revue Numismatique*, 1912, pp. 206 à 209.

IX.

THE GOLD COINAGE OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VI.

(See Plates VIII.-IX.).

WHEN I read my paper on the silver coinage of Henry VI our learned President suggested the desirability of the gold coins of this reign being specially studied with a view to seeing how far they would corroborate the conclusions I arrived at in regard to the arrangement of the silver coins. In deference to this suggestion I have since devoted some little attention to the subject, with what I hope may prove to be some interesting results, and these I will now submit to the Society for their consideration. I think I shall be able to show reason for considerably altering the arrangement hitherto followed as to the coins already known and published, and also to add several varieties of nobles of the later coinages, corresponding with the silver issues, of hitherto unknown types. Before attempting to classify the gold coins I will, as I did in my last paper, quote the mint accounts as given by Ruding of the amount of bullion coined during the various periods of this reign; and I would specially call attention to the large amount of gold coined at the London and Calais mints from the tenth year of Henry V up to the ninth year of Henry VI, and to the small amounts coined during subsequent years.

The following accounts are given by Ruding (Vol. I., pp. 84, 85):—

London—

From the 10th year Henry V to the 3rd year Henry VI	£	s.	d.
	19,746	11	0½
From July 28 of the 3rd year to July 27 of the 9th year of Henry VI. . . .	Lbs.	ozs.	dwt.
	5,963	7	11½

Calais—

From Jan. 24 of the 2nd year to Dec. 24 of the 6th year	2,834	aj	9	7
From May 20 of the 6th year to Aug. 2 of the 9th year	361	3	10	

London—



From Oct. 16 of the 10th year to Oct. 22 of the 11th year	663	4	0	15	7
18th and 19th years	505	3½	0		
From Michaelmas of 23rd year to Mi- chaelmas of 24th year	162	0	3		
25th year	87	11	17½		
From June 24 of 26th year to Oct. 11 of 28th year	207	11	2½		
From Michaelmas of the 29th year to Easter of the 30th year	416	4	11½		
From April 1 of the 31st year to April 21 of the 32nd year	123	10	7½		
From April 21 of the 32nd year to March 28 of the 34th year	149	6	10		
From Michaelmas of the 37th year to Michaelmas of the 38th year . . .	49	5	5		

Ruding states that these accounts are not complete, but they appear in a general way so well to correspond with the proportion of coins, both in gold and silver, that remain to us, that there cannot be a great deal missing, while any incompleteness is probably of a proportionate nature.¹ A very slight examination of the foregoing details shows us, as we might (having reference to the silver) naturally expect, that by far the largest amount of gold coined during this reign, was within the period that comprises the great annulet coinage in its various

¹ The accounts from 1433 to 1440 are entirely missing, which period I suggested in my last paper accounted for the whole of the pine-cone coinage.

phases, while the amount coined during what we may assume to be the period of the trefoil coinage, or from about 1440 to 1450 (approximately), is trivial by comparison. Now, according to the classification of Kenyon and others, practically no annulet gold coins are known; and although almost unique specimens of both noble and half-noble ascribed to this coinage have appeared in recent years, they do not materially alter Kenyon's conclusions. On the other hand, while not recognising the existence of gold coins of the annulet issues, he, with other writers, ascribes the bulk of Henry VI's gold coins to the trefoil issue, notwithstanding the fact that on all specimens the annulet occupies the place of a distinguishing mark in a most prominent way on both the obverse and reverse, small trefoils being merely used as stops. It will be seen from these preliminary remarks that I propose to transfer the gold coins of the, up to the present, so-called trefoil coinage, to the annulet coinage; and I will endeavour to give in detail my reason for doing so, my task being made much easier by the fact that one specimen at least of a noble, indisputably of the trefoil coinage, is now known and is in the National Collection. It was obtained with several other varieties of either very rare, or previously unknown types of nobles and half-nobles from a recent find in France, but in what locality I have been unable to ascertain. On the noble to which I now refer, the trefoil, which is large, is placed in the legend as on the groats of the trefoil coinage, and it only occurs in one place, small saltires being used between the other words. It is also placed in the field of the obverse. I will describe it more in detail later on in going through the several issues and comparing them with the silver coins.

It will perhaps be remembered that, in my paper on

the silver coins of this reign, I endeavoured to show that the great bulk of the annulet coins belong to Henry VI, and that all those belonging to Henry V are to be distinguished by a variety of the pierced cross mint-mark which I called type I. ;² while I gave reasons for believing that, with the accession of Henry VI and the renewal by the Regency of the indenture with Bartholomew Goldbeter, a new distinguishing mark would be most probable, and was to be found in an altered form of the pierced cross which I called type II. . The same reasoning will, I think, apply to the gold coins, and in this case the, at present, unique specimens of the annulet noble and half-noble (the former in the National Collection, and the latter in those of Sir John Evans and the late Mr. Montagu),³ together with the quarter-noble in the British Museum, at once fall into position, with the silver coins of the annulet type which I ascribed to Henry V, all having as m.m. the pierced cross of type I. This, it should be observed, is the only form of pierced cross found on the annulet gold coins; and I would suggest that, instead of the pierced cross of type II. which, on the silver coins, I take to be the distinguishing mark of the first issue of Henry VI, the fleur-de-lys was adopted as the new mark on the gold coins. It would obviously be suggested by the succession of the infant king to the throne of France almost immediately after that of England, through the death of his grandfather Charles VI, who had been compelled by treaty to acknowledge Henry V as his heir. The lion or leopard of England was prominently

² In speaking of the pierced cross of types I. and II. reference is only intended to the annulet coinage, there being a third and earlier type still, which is found on some coins of Henry IV or the first of Henry V.

³ The half-noble is photographed in the Montagu Catalogue.

introduced in conjunction with the fleur-de-lys, upon all the French coins of Henry VI, and what could seem more appropriate than to introduce the emblem of France in a prominent way upon the new issue of English money of the first English sovereign acknowledged as King of France. If this idea should be correct the adoption of the fleur-de-lys for the reason given as a distinguishing mark upon the gold coins at the very commencement of Henry VI's reign would also account for its long continuance throughout so many coinages, and even to its revival on the angels of the restoration. As the French possessions gradually fell away from the power of England the symbol of their sovereignty would probably be retained with increasing tenacity by Henry, while the remembrance that he had been solemnly crowned king of France, as the acknowledged heir of her kings, would make him feel that the emblem of that country was specially his own from his infancy. I believe that the fleur-de-lys had not until Henry VI's first coinage been used as a distinguishing mark on the coins of York, and it probably was so placed there as his special emblem. Its continuance in after years into the reign of Edward IV would thus very possibly be due to the well-known Lancastrian tendencies of the City. Having given my reasons for believing the fleur-de-lys to be the special mark distinguishing the first gold coins of Henry VI from the last issued during the reign of his father, and also for believing it to have been adopted and retained as his personal emblem through all his coinages, I will briefly endeavour to show how far the several coinages of gold correspond with and bear out my conclusions as to their arrangement, together with their relation to the various coinages of silver.

I.—THE ANNULET COINAGE.

As I have already said, I believe that, as with the silver, so with the gold, the great bulk of the coins of Henry VI really belong to the annulet coinage and not, as has been previously supposed, to the trefoil coinage. I think this is proved by reference to the mint accounts given by Ruding. The small trefoils in the legends I should consider merely a variety of stops, such as are found on coins of other reigns as well as of this; while in passing it may be noted that similar trefoil stops are found on the angels of Henry VI, which of course could not possibly belong to the trefoil coinage. In the case of the exceptional coins with annulets between the words on both sides, which I think we may safely assume to be quite the earliest annulet coins in gold, I admit that the annulets in the obverse legend, in conjunction with those on the reverse, are probably the distinguishing mark of the coinage, and in this respect take the place of the annulet at the king's wrist, which had not as yet been introduced, but as soon as it was, the small trefoils supersede the obverse annulets as stops. If these assumptions be correct there is no longer any difficulty in assigning the great bulk of the gold coins of Henry VI to the annulet coinage, as, notwithstanding the trefoil stops on the obverse, the early distinguishing marks stand out most prominently and unmistakably, while the general character of the king's figure and accessories, such as the shield, can be readily seen, upon close examination and comparison with gold coins of really later issues, to differ from them quite as much as the annulet silver coins differ from the later silver coinages.

The few very rare annulet gold coins with the pierced

cross mint-mark I should unhesitatingly ascribe to the last issue of Henry V. The so far unique noble in the National Collection (Plate VIII. 1) reads $\text{HENRIC} \times \text{DI} \circ \text{GRA} \circ \text{REX} \text{ANGL} \text{Z} \text{FRAN} \text{D} \text{NS} \circ \text{HYB}$ (there is no annulet at the king's wrist), and on the reverse $\text{IH} \text{C} \times \text{AVT} \text{EM} \circ \text{TRANSI} \text{ENS} \circ \text{PER} \circ \text{M} \text{EDIVM} \circ \text{ILLORV} \circ \text{IBAT}$ with the pierced cross of type I. ($\frac{+}{+}$) as mint-mark. A half-noble of similar type, and described as unique, was in the Montagu Collection (Lot 516), and is illustrated in the Catalogue. It had previously been in the Brice Collection. It has a mullet after HENRIC and after the first word of the reverse legend as on the noble, and the mint-mark on the reverse is the same pierced cross. Sir John Evans has recently acquired another and similar specimen of the half-noble, but so far these seem to be the only known examples, and, together with the noble, they were unknown to Kenyon. Three specimens of the quarter-noble are also known. One is in the British Museum Collection (Plate VIII. 4), and reads on the obv.: $\text{HENRIC} \times \text{DI} \circ \text{GRA} \circ \text{REX} \circ \text{ANGL}$; and on the rev.: $\text{EXALTABITVR} \times \text{IN} \circ \text{GLORIA}$, with mint-mark pierced cross on both sides similar to that on the noble and half-nobles. Another reads $\text{D} \text{G}$ and was in the Montagu Collection, while the third is in Sir John Evans' Collection. These quarter-nobles, it may be noted, differ from all others of this reign in being without the usual trefoil termination to the cusps of the tressure on both sides. These coins are evidently the earliest examples in gold of the annulet coinage, and their extreme rarity shows that they could only have been issued for a very short time. As regards the pierced cross mint-mark, they correspond exactly with the earliest type of groats, &c., of the annulet silver coinage, which I have ascribed to Henry V. They

have the mullet after the first word in both the obverse and reverse legends, which is a well-known distinguishing mark on earlier coins of Henry V both in gold and silver, but which on the latter entirely disappeared with the introduction of the annulet, while it was continued on the gold even apparently into the early part of the reign of Henry VI. The nobles and half-nobles have no annulet at the king's wrist. The quatrefoil, another well-known distinguishing mark on the earlier coins of Henry V, especially in silver, is found above the mast and before the king's name on the two half-nobles described.

There is a remarkable noble in the British Museum Collection, formerly in the Montagu Collection, which the late Mr. Montagu ascribed to Henry VI, but which I think must be quite the earliest annulet noble of Henry V. On the obverse it has the quatrefoil above the mast of the ship and the mullet under the king's sword arm. It also has a trefoil between the shield and the prow of the ship, and another on the ship itself. It will be remembered, no doubt, that the trefoil in conjunction with the mullet is found on a certain number of the later silver coins of Henry V previous to the annulet coinage. The obverse die of this coin I should consider to have been made before the introduction of the annulet, but converted into an annulet coinage die by the punching of an annulet *above* the hand of the sword arm, and it was then used in conjunction with a regular annulet reverse. This coin rather puzzled me at first, but I think it is accounted for in the way I suggest.

With these very few and rare examples, the existence of which proves that gold coins of all denominations were struck of the earliest annulet issue, the mint-mark

of the pierced cross disappears for a long period on any gold coins, and its place is taken by the fleur-de-lys, which was continued throughout all the succeeding gold issues of Henry VI previous to his first deposition. The introduction of the fleur-de-lys mint-mark on the gold coins must have taken place at a very early period of the annulet coinage, as both nobles (Plate VIII. 2) and half-nobles (Plate VIII. 3), although of the highest rarity, are known with the obverse type resembling exactly and corresponding in all particulars with those with the pierced cross mint-mark, but which have instead on the reverse the fleur-de-lys mint-mark, and in addition an annulet in the first spandril of the tressure is now first introduced. I have suggested, and fully believe, that this change distinguishes the earliest gold coins issued after the accession of Henry VI in the same way, and even more distinctly, as the later type of pierced cross marked his first silver issue. From the great rarity of both varieties having annulet stops on both sides we may conclude that both were only struck during a very short period—the first variety probably quite at the end of the reign of Henry V, and the second after the accession of his son. In the latter case the same obverse dies were used, the reverse dies only being changed, by the substitution of the lis for the pierced cross as mint-mark, and the introduction of an annulet into one of the spandrils of the tressure as an equivalent to the annulets between the pellets on the reverses of the silver coins. It is very probable that these last described coins do not really belong to a separate issue, but are again merely the result of former obverse dies which had probably had little wear, being in a few instances used in conjunction with reverses of the newer type having the

lis mint-mark, which I suggest was introduced after the accession of Henry VI.

We now come to what I venture to call the regular and common type of the gold annulet coinage, which we may safely consider as belonging to the same period (1422 to 1428 probably) as the common annulet silver coins. The annulet now always appears in prominent positions on both obverse and reverse of the nobles and half-nobles; on the obverse at the wrist of the king's sword arm, which may be considered to correspond with the annulets at the sides of the neck on the silver coins, and on the reverse in usually the first spandril of the tressure, which again suggests a comparison with the annulets between the pellets on the reverse of the silver coins. A small lis now takes the place of the mullet after *HENRIC* on the obverse, but the mullet is retained after the first word of the reverse legend. The stops between the words of the obverse legend are now invariably small trefoils, and on the reverse annulets; which on the quarter-nobles, owing to the mullet invariably following the first word of the legend, only occur once after the word *IN*, and that is the only instance of the annulet as a distinguishing mark on these small pieces.

On the nobles (Plate VIII. 2) the usual inscription is, Obv.: *HENRIC* * *DI* * *GR* * *REX* * *ANGL* * *Z* * *FRANC* * *DNS* * *HYB*, sometimes *HIB*; Rev.: *IN* * *AVT* * *TRANS* * *PAR* * *MEDIVM* * *ILLORV* * *IBAT*, m.m. lis. On the side of the ship are two lions and three fleurs-de-lys, which are arranged in two manners, 1st. lion, two lis, lion, lis; 2nd. lis, lion, lis, lion, lis. The first form appears on the earliest annulet nobles with the pierced cross mint-mark, and may perhaps mark the first issue of the later type with the lis mint-mark, but there are no other special

characteristics to indicate that the two varieties of ship ornaments were not contemporary in the later annulet coins, and merely accidental variations. Some nobles (Plate VIII. 7) and half-nobles have a flag at the stern of the ship, and, as in all other respects they exactly correspond with those without it, it seems a little difficult to assign a reason for the difference, while at the same time it appears unlikely that so striking a variation should have had no meaning at all. I therefore suggest as a solution that the flag was the distinguishing mark of the gold coins struck at the Calais mint, not only in this but in previous reigns, and should I be right in my surmise it would to some extent account for the apparent anomaly of our seeming to have no coins from the Calais mint between the treaty of Bretigny period of the reign of Edward III and the annulet coinages of Henry V and VI, notwithstanding the fact that the mint is referred to in various ordinances, and officers were appointed both in the last period of the reign of Edward III and in the reigns of Richard II and Henry IV. I am, of course, not forgetting that there *are* gold coins of both Edward III and Henry VI, which, in addition to the flag, have α in the centre of the cross on the reverse; but is it not highly probable that this was only quite a secondary mark and possibly only used for a short time, at least on the coins of Henry VI? In the mint accounts given by Ruding the large amount of 2834*dj*. 9. 7 of gold is recorded to have been coined at the Calais mint (the only gold coined there during this reign) between the 2nd and the 6th year of the reign of Henry VI, and it would be strange if no more of this large coinage remained to us than the very rare coins with α on the reverse. The nobles and half-nobles

with α on the reverse, but all having the flag, are of extreme rarity, while those having the flag, but with the ordinary reverse with h instead of α in the centre of the cross are fairly common, although scarcer than those without the flag. It will be remembered that the first issue of nobles, &c., of Edward III have L in the centre of the cross on the reverse for London, but that this was almost immediately omitted in favour of the initial letter of the king's name, and the same thing may very well have been done both in his reign and in that of Henry VI in regard to the Calais gold coins. The flag is found, I believe, on all the undoubted Calais coins of both reigns, which I submit is strongly in favour of my argument, and the flag of England would appear to be a very appropriate emblem for such an important over-sea outpost as Calais then was.

Another variety of what I will now call annulet nobles and half-nobles is distinguished from others by a large fleur-de-lys over the stern of the ship (Plate VIII. 6), while in all other respects they exactly correspond with the ordinary types. They are rather rare, and their special mark in so prominent a form must I think, as in the case of the flag, have some special meaning. I therefore suggest that the fleur-de-lys thus placed denotes the York mint. When these coins were classed as belonging to the trefoil coinage there would not have appeared the same reason for this attribution; but assuming, as I do, that they belong to the early annulet coinage, the fleur-de-lys at the side of the king at once suggests comparison with the same ornament on either side of the bust on the York silver coins of the early annulet issue. On reference to Ruding we find abundant reason for believing that Goldbeter or his subordinates coined a large amount of gold at York,

although apparently they struck very little silver. I will here quote from Ruding (Vol. I. p. 269) the records which he gives: "In the same Parliament (October 1423) the Commons of the counties of York, Northumberland, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Lancaster, Chester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, bishopric of Durham, and all parts of the north, petitioned the King and the Lords spiritual and temporal, stating, that in consideration of the provision in the statute of the ninth of the late king, which forbade the currency of gold under the lawful weight the last parliament had ordained, at the suit of the said suppliants, that the master and worker of the king's monies, within the Tower of London, should come to York, there to coin the gold and silver of the said country which were not of legal weight, and to remain there during the king's pleasure. By virtue of which ordinance the said master was at York, and there placed his mint to the great profit of the king, and ease of the said counties. But that the said master and his workmen had since retired from thence: wherefore the king's lieges, in the said parts, for their private convenience, commonly received and paid light gold, at rates and abatements, against the ordinance of the statute aforesaid, in contempt of the king, and to his and his people's loss. They therefore prayed that the master of the mint should be commanded to return to the said city there to coin as he had done before, and to remain, or leave there his sufficient deputies, for whom he should be responsible, during the king's pleasure. And also that it might be enacted, that all the gold, of the said parts, which should be deficient in weight, should be brought to the castle at York, there to be coined, before the Feast of St. Michael next. And that no gold, not of

just weight, should be current thenceforward in payment, nor have course within the counties aforesaid, nor elsewhere within the realm, and that proclamation to that effect should be made throughout the realm. This petition was granted by the said lords, with the assent of the Commons in parliament assembled." With this record from the rolls of Parliament before us, there appears every reason for believing that there was a considerable coinage of gold at York in the second year of Henry VI, and the fleur-de-lys having been already adopted as a prominent distinguishing mark in the field of the obverse for the York annulet silver coins, it would almost certainly be adopted for the gold also. Owing to the great rarity of the silver annulet coins of York, which apparently could only have been struck during the first brief visit of the Master of the mint, Bartholomew Goldbeter, it has been perhaps assumed that the petition of the Commons of the Northern Counties in the Parliament of 1423, although granted, was never acted upon; but I think the evidence of these fleur-de-lys marked annulet nobles, &c., proves that the enactment of the Parliament in answer to the petition was fully carried out. The coins, although scarce varieties, are not very rare, and are in no way to be compared in this respect with the silver. This is evidence that the Master of the mint, or his deputies, did actually return and stay at York, as requested by the petition, as long as was required.

It is scarcely necessary to say much about the half-nobles of what I have ventured to call the regular annulet coinage, as with the usual variation of the reverse legend they exactly correspond with the nobles of the three varieties I have described, viz., with and without flag at stern of ship and with lis over the stern of the ship. All have a small lis after *HENRIC* on the obverse

and a mullet after DOMINÆ on the reverse, and all have the mint-mark lis on the reverse only. I have one which omits the usual annulet in one spandril of the reverse tressure, but it is no doubt a reverse of the earliest variety used with the later obverse.

The quarter-nobles present several varieties of distinguishing marks in the field of the obverse. All read HENRIC * DI (or rarely DEI) * GR * REX * ANGL, with mint-mark lis, and on the reverse EXALTBTVR * IN * GLORIA, mint-mark lis, and all have a small lis in the centre of the floriated cross. It will be noted that on the quarter-nobles only the mint-mark occurs on both sides. The marks referred to in the field of the obverse are (1) lis over shield, (2) two lis together over shield, (3) one lis over shield and one at each side. There was one of this type in the Montagu Collection, No. 525 of first portion of sale, and it is there described as unpublished. I myself have another specimen of the third variety with a lis at each side of the shield as well as above it. There is a specimen in the British Museum with an annulet instead of a trefoil after DI. I have one in my cabinet which reads DEI, but with no annulet on the obverse. I think it is very possible that this last variety may belong to the York coinage, as the two lis at the sides of the shield would again recall the similar arrangement on the silver coins at the sides of the king's head. I would also suggest the possibility of the variety with two lis above the shield having been struck at the Calais mint, while the single lis in the same position denotes that of London, this latter variety being much the more common. The single lis above the shield is also found on quarter-nobles of both Henry IV and Henry V. A late and scarce variety of silver coins from the Calais mint, with the

usual annulets in the field on the obverse, has, as will be remembered, a trefoil also at one side of the king's crown and also after the word POSVI on the reverse. They are of a transitional issue, which has been called the "annulet trefoil" coinage. No London silver coins of this issue have so far been discovered, although I suggested in my previous paper that certain York pennies might belong to it. There are, however, certain rare gold coins having a small trefoil in the field of either the obverse or reverse, but with otherwise annulet characteristics, which would seem to probably belong to this presumably small issue. The coins to which I allude are (1) a noble described by Kenyon as in the Thorburn Collection, and which is stated to have a "trefoil in the second quarter near lion's head." It is classed under the "trefoil coinage," but it is in all other respects similar to the nobles which I have ascribed to the annulet coinage. I can trace no half-noble of this issue, but in the British Museum there is a quarter-noble with a trefoil below the shield, resembling in other respects the later annulet coins of the same denomination. These two coins, having the trefoil in the field, appear to me to correspond with the distinct silver issue we are referring to; but I think it very improbable that the small trefoils in the obverse legend of the bulk of the annulet gold coins have any connection with the "annulet trefoil" issue, which, to judge by the silver coins, could only have been quite a transitional one at the end of the annulet coinage. As the annulet coinage, according to my theory, includes by far the greater part of the gold issued during this reign, it may be well to give here a brief summary of the conclusions I have arrived at in reference to it and the reasons for so doing:—

1. The coins having annulet characteristics but with the pierced cross mint-mark I ascribe to Henry V, for the reasons given in my paper on the silver coins. Their great rarity bears out this attribution.
2. The coins with annulet characteristics but with the lis mint-mark on the reverse I attribute to Henry VI, and believe this to be the distinctive mark of the first coins issued after his accession.
3. Although the annulets in legends when on both sides certainly denote the first annulet coins, the early introduction of this distinguishing mark at the king's wrist and in one spandril of the reverse, accompanied by the substitution of small trefoils as stops on the obverse legend, distinctly marks the great annulet coinage.
4. The large amount of gold recorded in the mint accounts given by Ruding to have been coined during the first years of Henry VI's reign compared with the very small amounts in after years, proves that the annulet coinage must account for by far the greater portion of his gold coins.

Comparison with the silver of the same coinage—

The fleur-de-lys as a mint-mark is confined to the gold.

The mullet is also confined to the gold as a distinguishing mark after the first word in legends. It is a reason for ascribing the coins bearing it to the first coinage of Henry VI, it having been so much used by his father, and being found on none of his other coinages.

The annulet at the king's wrist and in one spandril of the reverse tressure correspond very closely with the annulets on the obverse at the sides of the king's neck,

and on the reverse between the pellets of the silver coins. In the rare instances of a trefoil occurring in the field it corresponds with the same mark in the field of the silver coins of the annulet-trefoil issue.

II.—THE ROSETTE-MASCLE COINAGE.

With the cessation of the annulet coinage the gold issues become greatly reduced in quantity, as will be seen by the mint accounts which I quoted from Ruding at the commencement of this paper. In discussing the silver coinage I gave reasons for assuming the approximate duration of the annulet coinage to have been from 1422 to 1428, and that of the rosette-mascle coinage from 1428 to 1433. Assuming these dates to be approximately correct, the only really large amounts of gold coined come within the period of the first coinage and into part of the second. As the rosette gold coins are, however, all so very much rarer than even the scarce annulet varieties, excepting only the almost unique pieces with annulet stops in both legends, it is evident that a very small part of the amount recorded as having been coined can belong to the rosette-mascle coinage. There are of this issue nobles, half-nobles (Plate VIII. 8), and quarter-nobles (Plate VIII. 9); the first are all rare, and the two smaller denominations extremely rare. On the nobles and half-nobles a lis now takes the place of the annulet at the king's wrist and at the head of the lion in the first quarter of the reverse, and rosettes occur usually after every word, but one, of both obverse and reverse legends. Where the rosette does not occur its place is occupied by a mascle or open lozenge. On the obverse this is usually after *GR*; and on the reverse it generally comes after *PER* on the nobles and after *FVROR* on the half-nobles.

The half-nobles have only two ropes at the stern of the ship, and with one exception in the British Museum none at the prow.

There are of this issue nobles and half-nobles with the flag, which I assume to denote the Calais mint, and in support of this it will be seen by the mint accounts that between the sixth and the ninth year of this reign (part of the period of the rosette coinage) a small amount of gold (361 lbs. 3 oz. 10 dwt.) was coined in the Calais mint. This is the last record of any gold coined at Calais, and the rosette-mascle nobles and half-nobles are the last upon which the flag appears. The nobles are very rare, and the half-nobles extremely so.

There is a quarter-noble of the rosette coinage in the National Collection described and illustrated by Kenyon (Plate VIII. 9). It has rosettes after every word in both obverse and reverse legends, and a rosette on either side of the shield, and a lis above the shield as on the previous coinage. The mint-mark on all coins of this issue continues to be the fleur-de-lys.

III.—THE PINE-CONE-MASCLE COINAGE.

Of this coinage again, although common in silver, the gold coins are all rare. The mint accounts between the eleventh and eighteenth year of this reign (which there is little doubt is the period of this coinage) are wanting, and we therefore get no assistance from them. It is rather curious, as I remarked in connection with the silver coins of this issue, that there are what appear to be *mules* of every denomination of both gold and silver between this and the preceding coinage, which would make it appear that a distinct transitional coinage must have taken place. Kenyon describes a noble with a

rosette obverse and a pine-cone reverse (Plate IX. 1), and I myself have another. I also recently acquired a similar half-noble (Plate IX. 2), while in the British Museum Collection (from the Montagu Sale, lot 523) there is a quarter-noble (Plate IX. 3) with a rosette obverse and a pine-cone reverse. The two latter coins are unpublished and were unknown to Kenyon. They are, I believe, so far unique, but they prove that gold coins of these denominations having the pine-cone characteristics were actually struck, and are forthcoming, as was anticipated they might be.

On the reverse of the half-noble alluded to there is a pine-cone after every word except TVO, where a mascle occurs. There is no lis in the field (as in the last issue) in any angle of the cross.

Of complete pine-cone coins on which this distinguishing mark appears on both sides we have still only the nobles (Plate IX. 4) of which Kenyon describes several varieties, including one or two transitional coins to which I have alluded, and one (the last) which should not be there at all.

In my paper on the silver coins I alluded to a rare issue previously classed with the pine-cone coinage, the chief characteristic of which is a large and well-defined leaf under the king's bust in the spandril of the tressure on the groats. A noble in the Murdoch Collection corresponds, I think, exactly with this silver issue. It has a mascle after REX, as on the groats, and it has a large leaf of the same peculiar character in the waves under the ship, which may be considered a corresponding position to the one it occupies on the groats. This coin is so far apparently unique.


In describing the various silver coinages I adopted for

convenience the classification of Hawkins. In the same way I am following that of Kenyon with the gold, and we therefore now come to—

IV.—THE TREFOIL COINAGE.

None of the coins described by Kenyon under this coinage really belong to it, although one which he places under the pine-cone coinage does. It is, however, imperfectly described, and its proper position is consequently not detected. In connection with the silver coinage I have called attention to several varieties of an evolutionary character on which the trefoil occurs, and although up to the present time no gold coins really belonging to this issue have been published as such, I am now able to describe specimens of the noble which I attribute to issues corresponding with three distinct silver issues of the trefoil period. The first (Plate IX. 5) corresponds with the groats, on which the trefoil first occurs in conjunction with the leaf in the legends, but before the leaf was introduced on the point of the cusp on the breast. This noble reads on the obverse *HENRIC' Q DI Q GRA Q REX + ANGL' X^s FRANQ' Q DNS' HYB*; reverse, mint-mark *lis*, *INC' Q AVT' Q TRANCIENS Q PAR + MADIUM + ILLOR' Q IBAT Q*. There is no *lis* or other mark in any quarter of the field of the reverse. It will be at once noticed how different in character and position the trefoils are on this coin as compared with the small trefoil stops on the coins of the annulet issue formerly ascribed to the trefoil coinage. This coin is in my own collection, and I know of one other exactly similar; but I believe these to be the only two that have so far appeared. I suspect that both came from the French find. The king's figure shows

some change from the earlier issues, and begins to approximate to that of Edward IV. The ship ornaments continue to be lis, lion, lis, lion, lis, but the lis appear to be larger and more distinct than on the earlier coins.

The next coin to describe (Plate IX. 6) is that placed by Kenyon the last in his list of nobles of the "pine-cone" coinage. It is, as he states, in the collection of Sir John Evans, to whom I am indebted for the loan of it. It may be described—obv: · h · HENRIC ♣ DI GRÆ · REX · ANGL'  FRANCO · DNS · HY; below the shield and above the side of the ship are an annulet, a lis, and a leaf, the latter very distinct with fibres; ship ornaments, lis, lion, lis, lion, lis: rev. m.m. lis, IHQ × AVT × TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORVM IBAT; no distinguishing mark in the field. It will be noted that in Kenyon's description the trefoil after HENRIC is omitted. There is another noble exactly similar to this in the National Collection from the French find. On account of the leaf introduced below the king's shield I attribute these nobles to an issue corresponding with the small silver coinage having one or more trefoils in the legends on which the leaf is first introduced on the point of the cusp of the tressure on the king's breast. I am unable at present to suggest any reason for the lis and the annulet in the field. The pellet at each side of the h in HENRIC, I should have been inclined to associate with the pellets at the sides of the crown on some groats of the trefoil period, but for the fact that on the very rare early nobles of Edward IV the pellets are at the sides of the crown as on the silver coins.

The third noble (Plate IX. 7), which has every indication of being the latest of the three, is in the British Museum Collection, and was also in the French find. It

reads on the obverse HENRIC X DI X GRA X REX X ANGL' X FRANX X DS HIB. There is a large trefoil of pellets under the shield and above the side of the ship. The ship ornaments are lion, lis, lion, lis, lion, differing from all previous nobles of this reign in having three lions instead of two, and only two lis instead of three. On the reverse we have m.m. lis, IHC X AVTA' X TRANSIENS PER X MADIU ILLO' IBAT. This coin, although in mint state, is carelessly struck, and in this respect, as well as in the character of workmanship, it resembles many of the later silver pieces of the trefoil coinage. The large trefoil in the field below the shield evidently corresponds with the trefoils at the side of the king's head upon the late trefoil groats. This coin is in all probability unique, and until its discovery no gold coin of so late a period of this reign was known. The various types included in what is generally known as the trefoil coinage belong, in my opinion, to separate coinages. Small coinages occurred between 1440 and 1450, during which time it will be seen by the mint accounts that very small quantities of gold were struck, and considering the usual proportion of a coinage which comes down to us it is not therefore surprising that so few nobles which are undoubtedly of the trefoil period are known. The same reasoning also clearly shows how impossible it would be that the coins given by Kenyon to this coinage could really belong to it.

V.—THE PINE-CONE-PELLET COINAGE.

I have been unable to trace any gold coins corresponding to the silver coinage of this class, although the mint accounts show that several small amounts of gold were coined between 1451 and 1456, which dates would most

probably include the period of the "pine-cone-pellet" coinage. The noble in the collection of Sir John Evans, and the similar one in the British Museum, which I have ventured to locate in the earlier trefoil period, may possibly belong to this, but if so, the trefoil in the legend of both would show them to be transitional coins. They are, however, of neat execution and well struck, and are thus unlike the latest trefoil nobles and groats, but in these respects have much greater affinity to the early groats of the trefoil issues.

CLASS VI.—THE CROSS AND PELLET COINAGE.

Seeing that the mint accounts only record 49 lbs. 5 oz. 5 dwt. of gold to have been coined during the period when the silver coinage of this class was being issued, we could hardly expect any of it to have been preserved to our own time. We know, however, that some gold coins were struck, and if specimens are forthcoming, although unlikely, at some future time, they will probably be found to correspond exactly with the extremely rare early nobles of Edward IV. These latter have pellets at the sides of the king's crown, and a lis under the shield, and thus correspond with his early silver coins in a manner similar to the various issues of Henry VI which I have described.

Owing to its want of any continuity with the coinages previous to his deposition in 1461, I think it undesirable to touch upon the gold coinage of the short restoration of Henry VI in 1470-71, which, as I said in reference to the silver, appears to require to be treated separately, or in connection with the reign of Edward IV.

FREDK. A. WALTERS.

REFERENCES TO PLATES.

Plate VIII.

No.

1. Earliest annulet noble of Henry VI with m.m. pierced cross (type II) ; annulet in legends of both sides.
2. Similar annulet noble of Henry VI with m.m. lis; annulet in 1st spandril of tressure of reverse.
3. Half-noble exactly similar to last.
4. Quarter-noble, m.m. pierced cross; annulets in legends both sides.
5. Annulet half-noble with trefoil stops in obverse legend. Annulet at king's wrist.
6. Annulet noble (of York?); annulet at king's wrist and large lis over stern of ship; trefoil stops on obverse.
7. Annulet noble (of Calais?). As last but with flag at stern of ship.
8. Half-noble of rosette-mascle coinage.
9. Quarter-noble of same coinage.

Plate IX.

No.

1. Noble with obverse of the rosette-mascle coinage and reverse of the pine-cone-mascle coinage.
2. Half-noble with similar characteristics (unique?).
3. Quarter-noble of similar obv. and rev. type (unique?).
4. Noble of the pine-cone-mascle coinage.
5. Noble of early variety of the trefoil coinage with leaves and trefoils in legends of obverse and reverse.
6. Noble of later variety of the trefoil coinage with leaf, lis and annulet below shield; trefoil after HENRIQ.
7. Noble of later trefoil issue with large trefoil below shield.
8. Early quarter-noble of Henry V (included in error).

X.

GEORGE WILLIAM DE SAULLES, CHIEF ENGRAVER TO THE ROYAL MINT.

BORN 1862; DIED JULY 21ST, 1903.

By the death of Mr. de Saulles, after a very short illness, the country, and the Numismatic world more especially, have to deplore the loss of an artist who, by strenuous application, succeeded in rising from the obscurity of a Birmingham apprenticeship to the appointment of Chief Engraver to the Royal Mint, having passed away at the early age of forty-one when on the threshold of a brilliant career.

George William de Saulles began his art training at an early age at the Birmingham School of Art, where, under the able tuition of the master, Mr. Taylor, whose influence he was always pleased to acknowledge, he studied some years, winning several prizes and a scholarship, which he could not follow up in consequence of being apprenticed to Mr. Wilcox, die-sinker, of Birmingham, with whom a varied practice, which included the execution of dies for labels for Manchester goods—at that time large and artistic in design, some including figure subjects—gave good scope for training to an intelligent student. Occupied with these and ordinary die-sinking work, Mr. de Saulles completed his term of apprenticeship and came to London in 1884, where he spent several years working for the writer, who is glad of this opportunity of testifying as well to the excellence of his work as to his kindly disposition, resulting in a friendship lasting to the end of his life. Leaving London in 1888, Mr. de Saulles returned to Birmingham and worked for Mr. Joseph Moore, the medallist, until

1892, when, hearing that the post of Engraver to the Royal Mint was vacant, on account of the death of Mr. Leonard Charles Wyon, he made application for the office, and was duly appointed. Since that time he has been occupied in the production of dies for the coins and medals issued by the Government, his first public work being the execution of the dies for the new issue of coins in 1893, designed by Mr. Thomas Brock, R.A., who also superintended the work. Mr. de Saulles has also executed many private and public commissions, one of the most recent being the dies for the new issue of coins on the King's accession. I append a list, as far as is known to me, of the works executed from the time of Mr. de Saulles's official appointment. Besides these, he has exhibited other works during the last five years at the Royal Academy and other exhibitions.

To practise the art of die-engraving to perfection, as near as it is possible to be attained, the engraver requires to combine the qualities of a draughtsman, a modeller, and an engraver, and the subject of this memoir was gifted with facility in all these requisites. He designed, modelled, and engraved most of his works. He initiated and executed with remarkable rapidity the most complicated and diverse designs, as the following list shows, but it is to be feared that devotion to his art, which kept him working early and late, weakened a constitution never very robust and helped on the end so much to be deplored.

LIST OF WORKS BY G. W. DE SAULLES.

Official Medals.

- 1894.—Volunteer (Long Service).
- 1894.—Colonial and Auxiliary Forces (Long Service).
- 1895.—India (General Service), first issued for Chitral.
- 1896.—Royal Victorian (Queen's Private Medal).

- 1896.—For services at wreck of "Drummond Castle."
 1897.—Soudan.
 1897.—Uganda, or Eastern Central Africa.
 1897.—Queen's Jubilee, or Longest Reign Celebration; two sizes, $2\frac{3}{16}$ inches and 1 inch.
 1898.—Canada (Fenian Raid, 1866, etc.).
 1900.—South Africa (Queen's head).
 1900.—Naval Hospital, Haslar.
 1900.—Irish Constabulary.
 1901.—Royal Society Gold Medal (Newton).
 1901.—Cape of Good Hope (given by Cape Government).
 1901.—King's head (Africa General Service).
 1901.—King's head (Ashanti).
 1902.—Coronation Medal; two sizes, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches and $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches.
 1902.—Police Medal (Coronation).
 1902.—King's Private Medal.
 1902.—Royal Society of British Architects.
 1902.—Winchester College.
 1902.—Military head of King for Sandhurst, Woolwich, and Wellington Colleges.
 1902.—Naval head of King for Training Ships, *Britannia*, *Worcester*, and *Conway*.
 1902.—Rugby School.

Private Medals.

- 1899.—Professor Stokes.
 1900.—Duke and Duchess of Cornwall on the occasion of their visit to Canada.
 1901.—Professor Aspinwall Howe (Montreal School).
 1901.—Lord Strathcona (Montreal School).
 1901.—Samuel Carnegie.
 1903.—National Lifeboat Institution.

Coins.

- 1893.—Gold and Silver series, including Maundy Money.
 1894.—Dollar for Hong Kong and Straits Settlements.
 1895.—Bronze series, with newly-designed reverse, Britannia.
 1900.—Cyprus.
 1902.—India.
 1902.—Gold, Silver, and Bronze series, on accession of King Edward VII, and other Colonial issues having same obverse as Indian, crowned head of King.

Plaques.

- Sir W. Chandler Roberts-Austen, K.C.B.
 Sir Horace Seymour, K.C.B.
 F. T. Cobbold, Esq.

Seals.

- 1898.—New Great Seal of England and many designs for new Official Seals for the Colonies, etc.

JOHN H. PINCHES.

MISCELLANEA.

MALWA COINS OF BAHADUR SHAH OF GUZERAT.—Three copper coins recently forwarded to me from Indore appear to merit attention, as they are not to be found in the Catalogue of the British Museum, nor in those of the Indian Museums which I have consulted, and I believe them to be hitherto unpublished. They are all square; the first two are about the same size, the third being, roughly, half the size of the others. In detail their description is as follows:—

- (1) *Obverse*: Divided into two equal parts by a slanting horizontal line, above which are the name and title, بهادر شاه. Below the line is سلطان. Above the س of سلطان is a star of four points, with a dot in each angle between the points.

Reverse: Divided into two equal parts by two slanting horizontal lines. The upper part is again divided (unequally) by a third slanting line, into which the letters above it run. Only detached portions of legend are visible. The first line is illegible; two perpendicular strokes meet the horizontal dividing line, above which, and to the left of the two perpendiculars, is a dot. The second line contains س, the dots representing a letter or letters destroyed by corrosion. In the lower half, below the two medial horizontal lines, are بن (or بن) and و, between which is the mark 𐤀

The diagonal diameter is .7 inch (medial width .6 inch); the weight 109.5 grains (about).

- (2) *Obverse*: Nearly as in No. 1, except that there are two medial lines, and that the h in Bahadur is of the more regular form. There is a perpendicular stroke to the extreme right of the upper half which is difficult to account for; it may represent the B in

Bahadur (which is otherwise lacking), or it may be a figure in a date, the remainder of which is missing.

Reverse: Nearly as in No. 1, except that the first line is absent. The second line reads ن س. Below the two medial lines are ن and و separated by the mark †, and under these respectively د and و.

Diagonal diameter .7 inch (medial width under .6 inch, over .5 inch). Weight 109 grains (about).

(3) *Obverse*: Two horizontal lines, above which are traces of letters; below سلطان and star, as in Nos. 1 and 2.

Reverse: Two horizontal lines, above which د and below traces of letters now illegible.

Diagonal diameter little under .6 inch (medial width .5 inch). Weight 55 grains (about).

These coins resemble those of Malwa in the following points: (1) their square form; (2) the division of the field by horizontal lines; (3) the wording and arrangement of the legend; (4) the "tree-like" cross, anchor, and star marks. They also resemble a coin struck by Ibrahim Lodi "to commemorate the fraudulent acquisition of Chanderi" (see Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p. 377, No. 321). In no case, however, are they identical with either the ordinary coinage of the local rulers or with the special coinage of Ibrahim Lodi.

No king of the local Malwa Mussulman dynasties was named Bahadur Shah; but the Guzerati sovereign of that name conquered Malwa in 937 H. (1530 A.D.), and I suggest that he issued a local coinage bearing his own name, but after the Malwa and not the Guzerati type, in this respect following the practice of Ibrahim Lodi. The innate persistence of the square Malwa type is further illustrated by the square copper coins struck by Shah Jehan at Ujain. Hitherto no such coins of Bahadur, Shah of Guzerat, have been edited, but the Rev. Dr. Taylor, of Ahmedabad—perhaps the greatest authority on Guzerati coins—informs me that he considers the attribution "highly probable." The main difficulty in its way is the weights, which disagree with the known weights of either the Malwa copper coins or the Guzerati issues of Bahadur Shah.

A ROUND COPPER COIN OF GHIYATH SHAH OF MALWA (?).— This was obtained by me in Ahmedabad. I at first attributed it to Ghiyath al Din Mahomed of Guzerat, 846–855 H., as in size and general appearance it resembled a specimen of his coinage obtained at the same time, for which see Plate I., No. 7, of the *Coins of the Guzerat Sultanat*, by the Rev. Dr. Taylor (*Journal of the R.A.S. Bombay*, Vol. xxi., No. lviii., 1902). Its legends, however, differ materially from those of the Guzerati Ghiyath's copper coins, and indeed from those of any Guzerati king. Dr. Taylor, whom I consulted, considers it a Malwa coin, although it is not of the usual square Malwa type, and compares it with the gold (and presumably round) Malwa coin given in Thomas, *Pathan Kings*, p. 349, top. The legends in part agree. Those on my own coin (which is not in the British Museum, and is, I think, as yet unpublished) are as follows :—

Obverse: السلطان بن السلطان عهد. To the right of عهد is the top of a letter (or a dot) not accounted for.

Reverse: غياث شاه السلطان. Below السلطان are traces of a date [8]79, i.e. [] ۷۹.

Diameter nearly .7 inch. Weight about 64 grains.

According to Mr. S. Lane-Poole (*Mohammadan Dynasties*), Ghiyath Shah of Malwa succeeded in 880 H. If, however, the above date be correct, his accession is thrown back a year.

J. G. COVERNTON.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED BY THE BRITISH MUSEUM IN 1902.

(See Plates X., XI., XII.)

The total number of coins of the Greek series (see the annexed Table) acquired by the British Museum during the year 1902 is 513. Most of these acquisitions have been obtained by purchase, but some are presentations due to the generosity of Mr. W. C. Boyd, Mr. Percy Davies, Mr. H. A. Grueber, Sir H. H. Howorth,¹ Mr. J. B. Hue, Mr. A. J. Lawson, Mr. Augustus Ready and Sir Hermann Weber. As in my fifteen previous papers,² I give some account of the more noteworthy specimens. I have not, however, referred to acquisitions of many Phrygian, Cypriote and Phoenician coins, which are reserved for publication in future volumes of the Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins*. The Cypriote additions include the most important portion of the collection formed by Sir R. Hamilton Lang during his residence in Cyprus.

¹ Numerous coins of southern Italy, most useful as filling gaps in the Museum series.

² Important Greek acquisitions of the Department of Coins from the year 1887 onwards will be found described by me in the *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1888, p. 1 f.; 1889, p. 249 f.; 1890, p. 311 f.; 1891, p. 116 f.; 1892, p. 1 f.; 1893, p. 1 f.; 1894, p. 1 f.; 1895, p. 89 f.; 1896, p. 85 f.; 1897, p. 93 f.; 1898, p. 97 f.; 1899, p. 85 f.; 1900, p. 1 f. and p. 273 f.; 1902, p. 313. In preparing this paper I have once more had the advantage of consulting the section on Greek coins written by Mr. Barclay Head for the Parliamentary *Return* of the British Museum (printed 1903), and I am also much indebted for several valuable suggestions to Mr. Head and Mr. G. F. Hill.

GREEK COINS ACQUIRED 1887-1902.

Year.	Gold and Electrum	Silver.	Bronze, &c.	Total.
1887	8	58	110	176
1888	10	217	228	455
1889	12	65	270	347
1890	5	102	70	177
1891	16	280	73	369
1892	10	99	348	457
1893	4	118	281	403
1894	31	164	453	648
1895	20	178	479	677
1896	54	428	170	652
1897	20	313	503	836
1898	3	222	699	924
1899	1	112	372	485
1900	1	310	604	915
1901	38	411	620	1,069
1902	6	202	335	543
Total . .	239	3,279	5,615	9,133

NEAPOLIS (CAMPANIA).

1. *Obv.*—Female head l., wearing broad band, earring and necklace; behind, Hermin r.; border of dots.

Rev.—ΝΕΟΓΟΛΙΤΩΝ (in ex.). Man-headed bull r., head facing, crowned by Nike flying r.

Æ. Size .9. Wt. 111 grains. [PL. XI., 1.]
Presented by Sir H. H. Howorth. (Cp. Dressel, *Beschreibung* (Berlin), III. (1), p. 118, nos. 101, 102.)

OLOPHYXUS (MACEDONIAN CHALCIDIC).

2. *Obv.*—Female head r., wearing stephane and earring; hair rolled.

Rev.—ΟΛΟΦ ΨΕΙΩΝ Eagle r., with wings closed; whole in linear square.

Æ. Size .6. [PL. X., 1.]

Olophyxus was not, hitherto, known to have issued coins. It was one of the cities of the peninsula of Acte, and is mentioned by Herodotus (vii., 22), and by later writers. It occurs in the Athenian tribute-lists of the fifth century, e.g. in the Thracian φόρος of B.C. 425 (Ὀλοφύχσιοι ἐχς Ἀθω).³ This coin is of good fourth-century style. The head somewhat resembles the fine female head on the coins of Pydna, *circa* B.C. 364-358,⁴ and the reverse recalls the eagle within a square on the money of Amyntas III, B.C. 390-369.⁵ The coin may therefore belong to *circa* B.C. 390-358.

³ Hicks and Hill, *Greek Hist. Inscr.*, p. 123.

⁴ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Macedonia*, p. 101, nos. 4-6.

⁵ Sallet, *Beschreibung*, II., p. 193.

PHILIP III (ARIDAEUS).

B C. 323-316.

3. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r.; griffin on helmet; hair in formal curls.

Rev. ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Nike l., holding wreath and trophy-stand (or *στύλῆς* ?); in front, Ζ^p; behind, Υ^(?).

M. Size .65. Wt. 132.6 grs. [Pl. X., 2.]

Purchased together with a number of coins of Cyprus from Sir R. Hamilton Lang. It is doubtless one of the specimens referred to by Lang in *Num. Chron.*, 1871, p. 230, as having formed part of a large hoard of gold staters of Philip II, Alexander III, and Philip III, discovered near Larnaca in Cyprus.

The coin was probably struck in the East, perhaps in Syria: cp. the monograms in Müller, pl. xxviii., nos. 108-110 and p. 397.

HADRIANOPOLIS (THRACE).

4. *Obv.*—ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝ ΑΣΕΒΑ[ΟΤΗ] Bust of Faustina jun. r.

Rev.—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΤΙ ΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ Female figure standing l., wearing strophane, veil and chiton; l. holds long sceptre; r. holds patera over a lighted and garlanded altar (Juno Lucina, or Faustina in the character of this goddess).

M. Size .85. [Pl. X., 3.]

Both obverse and reverse types are almost exact reproductions of an aureus of Faustina jun., inscribed IVNONI LVCINAE (Ponton d'Amécourt, *Catal.*, pl. xiii., no. 329; another specimen in Brit. Mus.). Other coins

of Hadrianopolis of this empress represent Homonoia and Tyche⁶

THESSALIAN CONFEDERACY.

B.C. 196-146.

5. *Obv*—Head of Zeus r., laur. ; behind, ΣΙΜΙΟΥ.

Rev—ΘΕΣΣΑ ΛΩΝ $\begin{smallmatrix} \Pi & \circ \\ \Lambda & \Xi \end{smallmatrix}$ Athena Itonia r., in attitude of attack ; in field above, two stars.

R. Size .95. Wt. 99.5 grs. [Pl. X., 4.]
Cp. Schlosser, *Beschreibung* (Vienna), I, p. 1, no. 4.

MOLOSSI (EPIRUS).

6 *Obv*.—Dog wearing collar, standing r.

Rev.— $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{ΜοΛΟΞ} \\ \text{ΝΩΞ} \end{smallmatrix}$ (letters thin and straggling). Fulmen ; circular incuse.

R. Size .55. Wt. 35 grs. [Pl. X., 5.]

The obverse represents one of the fierce hunting-dogs of the famous Molossian breed.⁷ The same dog is seen, lying down, on a smaller silver coin of the Molossi in the Berlin Museum,⁸ and he occurs also on a bronze coin of the Epirotes.⁹ These dogs, according to Oppian, were broad-backed, of great height and ferocious aspect, and had enormous tails—characteristics which would seem to be indicated on the Molossian coins. It is possible that the coin-types may have some mythological significance, for, according to Nicander of Colophon,¹⁰ the Molossian hound was (by a strange freak of evolution) the

⁶ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Thrace*, p. 117, nos. 6, 7.

⁷ On these dogs, see Cagny, art. "Canis" in Daremberg, *Dict.*, I., p. 881 f.

⁸ Imhoof, *Monn. Gr.*, p. 140, no. 41.

⁹ Imhoof and Keller, *Tier- u. Pflanz-Bild.*, pl. i., 31 ; cp. no. 32.

¹⁰ *Ap. Pollux*, V., 5, 1.

descendant of the wondrous dog of brass fashioned by Hephaistos.

The fulmen relates to the Dodonaean Zeus, like nearly all the coin-types of the Molossi.

UNCERTAIN, OF EUBOEAE (?).

7. *Obv* — Astragalos ; linear border.

Rev. — Incuse square, divided diagonally.

R. Size .75. Wt. 130 grs. [Pl. X., 6.]
Presented by Sir Hermann Weber. Cp. *Hist. Num.*, p. 309 ; Beulé, *Monn. d'Ath.*, p. 19.

ATHENS (ATTICA).

8. *Obv.* — Head of Athena r. (usual type).

Rev. —

Α	ΘΕ
ΦΑΝΟ	ΚΛΗΣ
ΑΠΟΛ'	
ΛΩΝΙΟΣ	
ΑΡΙΣ	
ΤΟΔ	
ΗΜΟΣ	

Owl on amphora inscribed Β ; beneath amphora, ΜΕ ; in field r. Artemis with torch ; whole in olive wreath.

R. Tetradrachm. Size 1.2. Wt. 256.7.
Cp. Beulé, p. 375 ; Brit. Mus. Cat., *Attica*, p. 75, series lxxi., after 146 B.C.

ATHENS. *Imperial Times.*

During the past year the Museum has filled many gaps in its series of Athonian coins of the Imperial period, and I have here figured a few specimens on account of their interest or excellent preservation.

Most of the types in the Athenian series have been well studied by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner in their

Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias, but something, perhaps, remains to be done in the way of determining the exact dates and sequence of the specimens. The study of a very complete collection would reveal differences of module and fabric, several varieties in most of the reverse types, and considerable diversity in the treatment of the Athena-head of the obverse. In his catalogue, *Attica*, Mr. Head assigns the coins to the period of Hadrian and the Antonines (p. 93; p. lix.).

9. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing ornamented Athenian helmet with crest; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝΑ Ι ΩΝ Athena standing r., holding in r., spear; in l., figure of Nike l., with wreath and palm branch; Athena wears Corinthian helmet, chiton and peplos, one end of which falls over her left arm; border of dots.

Æ. Size .8. [Pl. X., 9.] Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Attica*, p. 93, no. 672.

The reverse is well preserved and derived from a good fifth-century original of the class of the Athena of Velletri: see Imhoof and Gardner, *Comm. Paus.*, p. 133, § 8; Lermann, *Athenatypen*, p. 86 and reff. there to Furtwängler.

10. *Obv.*—Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet and aegis, with serpents; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝ ΑΙΩΝ Athena, wearing Corinthian helmet and chiton, standing l. before olive-tree; r. hand touches tree and holds a spear transversely; l. hand rests on shield; border of dots.

Æ. .8. [Pl. X., 10.] Cp. Imhoof and Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

11. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing ornamented Corinthian helmet.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ Similar, but tree varied; Athena does not touch the tree, and before her is a serpent coiled; border of dots.

Æ. .85. [Pl. X., 11.] Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Attica*, "Athens," nos. 694–697, and Imhoof and Gardner, *loc. cit.*

12. *Obv.*—Bust of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet and drapery; serpents of aegis visible; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ Athena, wearing helmet and chiton, standing in chariot drawn r. by two galloping horses; she holds in r. hand, spear; border of dots.

Æ. .85. [Pl. X., 12.] Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., "Athens," nos. 705, 706, Imhoof and Gardner, p. 136, § 17.

13. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing Athenian helmet; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ Olive tree; on l., owl facing; on r., amphora and palm tree.

Æ. .8. [Pl. X., 7, *rev.*]

The olive is probably the tree in the temple of Athena Polias mentioned by Pausanias, l., 27, 2.¹¹ The amphora and palm tree¹² are agonistic types, as appears from the next coin.

14. *Obv.*—Head of Athena r., wearing Corinthian helmet; border of dots.

¹¹ Imhoof and Gardner, p. 132, § 6.

¹² The similar coin in Brit. Mus. Cat., "Athens," no. 711, is without the palm tree but has a palm branch in the exergue.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΩΝ Agonistic table on which wreath, helmeted bust of Athena r, with aegis, and owl, beneath table, amphora; in field r., palm branch, border of dots.

Æ. .85. [Pl. X., 13.]

Belongs to a series with agonistic types (Brit. Mus. Cat., "Athens," nos. 719-725) referring to the public games called ΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΑ, ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ and ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΕΑ (*Z. f. N.*, xxi., p. 208).

15. *Obv.*—Bust of Athena r, wearing crested Corinthian helmet; drapery on neck; border of dots.

Rev.—Α Θ ΗΝΑ Ι Ω Ν Apollo Lykeios, naked, standing r., r. hand raised resting on head¹³; l. holds strung bow and rests on a tripod (entwined by a serpent) placed before him; behind Apollo, laurel tree; border of dots.

Æ. Size .85. [Pl. X., 14.]

An Apollo characterized by the raised right hand resting on his head is found on many ancient monuments and is due to a sculptured original by Praxiteles or his school.¹⁴ The type has been generally known as the Apollo Lykeios, of whom a statue, described by Lucian (*Anacharsis*, 7), stood in the Lyceum at Athens. According to Lucian, this figure leant upon a column (στύλη) holding a bow in the left hand, while the right hand bent over the head ὥσπερ ἐκ καμάτου μακροῦ ἀναπαυόμενον δείκνυσι θεόν.

The type of our coin forms a variety of two Athenian coins presenting this Apollo:—A, symbol on tetradrachm

¹³ The hair appears to fall in two long tresses, as more clearly seen in Brit. Mus. Cat., *Attica*, "Athens," no. 750.

¹⁴ For a list of references, Klein, *Praxiteles*, p. 164; cp. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, II., pp. 94-96.

of Epigenes—Xenon¹⁵; B, imperial coin, Brit. Mus. Cat., *Attica*, "Athens," no. 750; figured Imh. and Gardn., Pl. cc xix., p. 145.

The object beside the Apollo is, on A, a tall column surmounted by a tripod (resembling a choragic monument rather than the support of a statue); on B, it is a lyre placed on a base or short column; on our coin it is a tripod entwined by a serpent. In the last case the tripod affords an evident support for the hand which holds the bow. What the *στήλη* of Lucian's description exactly was is, therefore, not decisively elucidated by the evidence of the coins. On our coin the left knee is somewhat bent; on B, the knee is bent and the leg drawn back quite in the manner of Praxitelean figures (the resting Satyr, Apollo Sauroktonos, &c.).

I may take this opportunity of remarking that the Pan on the coins of Caesarea Panias in Trachonitis which I noted in Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, &c., p. lxxxii., as reproducing "some good original in sculpture," is no doubt derived, as Klein has pointed out,¹⁶ from a Praxitelean original resembling the beautiful flute-playing Paniskos in the Louvre.¹⁷

16. *Obv.*—Bust of Athena r., wearing crested Athenian helmet; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝΑ Ι ΩΝ Nike, winged, and wearing chiton with upper fold, advancing to front with dancing step; her head looks r.; in r. and l. hands she holds the ends of a garland; border of dots.

Æ. Size .85. [Pl. X., 15.]

¹⁵ Head, *Attica*, "Athens," no. 402, figured by Imhoof and Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. cc xviii. See also *Rev. Num.*, 1903, p. 212, no. 45 (Marcianopolis).

¹⁶ *Praxiteles*, p. 214; *cp. Arch. Zeitung*, 1869, p. 97, pl. 23, nos. 2 and 3.

¹⁷ Figured Klein, p. 213.

For the familiar palm-branch and wreath of Nike¹⁸ a garland—an uncommon attribute on coins—is substituted. This pleasing type belongs to a class of figures of Nike (chiefly in terracotta) which have been thought¹⁹ to be ultimately derived from the dancing Victories that supported the throne of the Zeus of Olympia:²⁰ in these figures, however, Nike holds—not a garland—but the ends of the folds of her chiton.

A Roman medallion of Antoninus Pius (Froehner, *Méd. Rom.*, p. 54) and an aureus of L. Verus (Montagu, *Catal.*, pl. xiv., 427, also specimen in Brit. Mus.) represent Victory as on our Athenian coin, but wearing a mural head-dress.

17. *Obv.*—Bust of Athena l., wearing crested Corinthian helmet and drapery; border of dots.

Rev.—[A] ΘΗ Ν ΑΙ Ω Ν Theseus advancing r.; in raised r. hand, club; lion's skin wound round left arm and flying behind; border of dots.

Æ. Size .8. [Pl. X., 8, *rev.*]

Imhoof and Gardner (*op. cit.*, p. 148; pl. DV xviii.) describe this reverse, as it appears on the specimen reproduced by them from the Loebbecke Collection, as "Aristogeiton (?) advancing to right," holding "sword and chlamys." From our coin it becomes clear that the figure holds a club and the skin of a beast, probably a lion. In spite of these attributes, it is not Herakles who is represented, because the figure is slim and beardless, while Herakles on the Imperial coins of

¹⁸ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Attica*, "Athens," nos. 756, 757.

¹⁹ H. Bulle, art. "Nike" in Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 838 f.

²⁰ Paus., V., 11, 2; *cp.* Murray, *Hist. Gr. Sculpt.*, II., p. 124.

Athens is always bearded and of the usual heavy and muscular type.

The figure must, therefore, be intended for Theseus, who, in fact, on other Athenian coins wields the same weapon and has a skin wound round his arm.²¹ In one case he is seen (the lion's skin is on his arm) bludgeoning the Minotaur, and our type is either a partial reproduction of this group or may be intended to represent the hero as he advances to the attack.

18. *Obv.*—Bust of Athena r., wearing Athenian helmet crested, and adorned with floral scroll; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΘΗΝΑ Ι [Ω] Ν Theseus r., naked, raising rock [beneath which are the sword and sandals of his father Aegeus]; border of dots.

Æ. Size .8. [Pl. X., 16.]

This specimen is better preserved than those figured in Imhoof and Gardner²² and the Brit. Mus. Cat., *Attica*,²³ though it does not very clearly show the sword and sandals placed beneath or beside the rock. The coin-type has been recognised as a reproduction of the bronze "Theseus raising the rock," seen by Pausanias on the Acropolis.²⁴ It can, however, only convey to us a notion of the general motive of that original and is no guide to the details; the treatment of the head and hands, for instance, is singularly weak, and a much better reproduction may be found (*e.g.*) on the terracotta

²¹ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Attica*, "Athens," nos. 768-770; no. 763; Imhoof and Gardner, pl. dd iv.

²² Pl. dd ii. The type also occurs at Troezen, Imhoof and Gardner, p. 49; M xi.



²³ P. 105, nos. 760, 761; cp. Beulé, p. 398.

²⁴ Paus., I., 27, 8, and Frazer's commentary, II., p. 347.

relief from Cervetri in the British Museum²⁵ (D 594) where Theseus is seen with head and body straining forward while his hands grip the huge rock in a workmanlike fashion.

PYLAEMENES EUERGETES, KING OF
PAPHLAGONIA.

Circ. B.C. 130.

19. *Obv.*—Head of Herakles, beardless, r., bare; lion's skin round neck; club at shoulder; on the face, countermark ; in front, countermark .

Rev.—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ
ΠΥΛΑΙΜΕΝΟΥ
ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ

Nike l., holding in upraised r., wreath; in l., palm branch.

Æ. (with black patina). Size .9. [PL. XI., 3, *obv.*]

The coins bearing the name "Pylaemenes"²⁶ have been usually assigned to the second (*circ.* B.C. 95) of the four Paphlagonian dynasts who are asserted to have borne this name. M. Th. Reinach²⁷ is in favour of attributing them to Pylaemenes I, who was the ally of the Romans in B.C. 130. Certainly the style and fabric of the coins is consistent with a date earlier than B.C. 95.

Our coin, No. 19, is like the specimen in the Brit. Mus. Cat., *Pontus, &c.* (p. 103, no. 1), but derives

²⁵ This will be included in the Brit. Mus. Cat. of Terracottas, by Mr. H. B. Walters. The subject occurs on a gem in *Arch. Anzeiger*, 1899, pp. 200, 201.

²⁶ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Pontus, &c.*, p. 103.

²⁷ Reinach, *L'histoire par les Monn.*, p. 159 f.; *cp.* Mommsen in *Z. f. N.*, xv., p. 215 f.

interest from the two monograms stamped upon the obverse. The first of these, or something like it, is common (*cp.* coins of Prusias II and civic bronze of Mithradates Eupator); the second recalls the monograms of the kings of Bosphorus. Anyone who can succeed in identifying this pair of countermarks will probably furnish a useful clue to the date of the issuer of the coin.

BITHYNIA.

20. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΙΤΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΣΕΒΑΣΥΙΟΣ Head of Titus r., laur.

Rev. — ΕΠΙΜΜΑΙΚΙΟΥΡΟ[Υ]ΦΟ[Υ]ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ (M. Maecius Rufus, proconsul of the province "Bithynia et Pontus" under Vespasian and Titus). Palm tree; on r., shield and two spears; on l., helmet, cuirass and two spears. (*Cp.* "Judaea capta" types).

Æ. Size 1.15. [Pl. XI., 2, *rev.*]

CAESAREA GERMANICA (BITHYNIA).

21. *Obv.*—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΑ Bust of J. Domna r.

Rev.—ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΗΣ Part of an amphitheatre (?), showing, within, two rows of spectators (six in front, five behind). On the outside, three circular objects; in front, obelisk.

Æ. Size 1.35. [Pl. XI., 4, *rev.*]

The reverse of this curious, and, so far as I know, unique coin evidently represents the onlookers at some public spectacle. At the first glance one might almost say that it was a family party crowded into a box at a modern theatre, and one recalls the bas-reliefs of the column of Theodosius at Constantinople, with spectators

of imperial and high official rank watching the games of the Circus.²⁸ But no such explanation is possible, if only for the reason that the receptacle of our spectators is open at the bottom.

The engraver's intention was, doubtless, to portray both the outside and the inside of a public building, as has been attempted on the well-known Roman coins (Titus²⁹) and medallions (Gordian III³⁰) representing the Flavian Amphitheatre at Rome. On these pieces, the four storeys of the exterior—the three lowest formed of arcades—are very clearly delineated, but on the coin of Caesarea there are no such indications of architectural structure. I can only suggest, therefore, that we have here merely the fourth or uppermost storey of the Roman Amphitheatre or of some similar building. If the medallion of Gordian be examined it will be seen that the fourth storey consists of a wall on which is represented a series of circular objects just as on our coin. On the coin of Titus the wall of this storey is divided by pilasters between which alternately appear square and circular objects. The existing remains of the Colosseum show in the fourth storey the same pilasters, between which, alternately, are windows (oblong, however, not square) and bare spaces which, in antiquity, may have been decorated by circular metal *clipei*.

The engraver of Caesarea Germanica evidently aimed at representing the spectators, rather than the building in which they sat. These spectators, then, are not likely to be "the common people of the skies" the

²⁸ Diehl, *Justinien*, p. 441, fig. 147; H. Barth, *Constantinople*, 97-100.

²⁹ Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict.*, art. "Amphitheatrum," fig. 270, esp. fig. 271 (view of Colosseum); Donaldson's *Architectura*, p. 204; Cohen, *Méd. imp.*, I, p. 461.

³⁰ Grueber, *Roman Medallions in Brit. Mus.*, pl. xlii., 1.

rabble who filled the worst seats at the top, but we are meant to look down upon the important personages who occupied the ledge above the podium and who were in close proximity to the arena.³¹ The six persons in front may be Septimius Severus and his wife, Caracalla and Geta and two other persons of high rank. The five dimly-seen figures behind may be the occupants of the rows of back seats.³²

In front of the building is an obelisk which recalls the Meta Sudans placed beside the Amphitheatre on the coin of Titus.³³ But it may be doubted whether the Roman Amphitheatre would be represented on the coins of a provincial town, and it is very probable that an amphitheatre at Caesarea itself may be intended. The coins of this place are already known to display its city-gate, as well as its harbour, beside which are a temple and a statue on a column. It may be that Septimius visited, or bestowed some patronage upon, the games of the Bithynian city, which was thus led to strike this unusual commemorative type.³⁴

NICOMEDIA (BITHYNIA).

22. *Obv.*—ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤΗ Bust of Faustina jun., r., draped; hair waved and tied in bunch.

³¹ The medallion of Gordian actually shows the arena with a bull and elephant in fierce combat.

³² Cp. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* (1897), p. 382.

³³ Possibly the obelisk may be intended to stand *within* the building, with its apex pointing upwards through the aperture. But a column of this kind would be more suitable for the interior of a circus than of an amphitheatre.

³⁴ On coins of Caesarea, see *Brit. Mus. Cat., Pontus*, p. 122; Imhoof-Blumer, *Griech. Münzen*, p. 597 f.; *Num. Chron.*, 1895, p. 98.

Rev.—ΜΗΤ-ΝΕΩ ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΙ Aphrodite, wearing stephane and mantle over lower limbs, seated l. on rock; hair tied in bunch, one tress falling on neck; in outstretched r. hand, apple; l. hand resting on rock.

Æ Size 1·1. [Pl. XI., 5.] Cp. *Invent. Waddington*, nos. 464, 465.

The representation of Aphrodite seated is comparatively rare in ancient art.³⁵ The best-known group of monuments that represent the goddess holding the apple is that which is believed to reproduce the statue of Venus Genetrix made by Arcesilaus, B.C. 45, for the temple in the Forum Julium at Rome.³⁶ In this series, however, the goddess is a standing figure and is draped in a chiton which leaves only one breast uncovered.

On the Roman coins of Faustina jun. (whose head appears on the obverse of our specimen) the Venus that often occurs as a type is a standing figure and completely draped, perhaps because it was the empress who was intended to appear on the coin in the character of the goddess.

It has been suggested to me that this seated Aphrodite may have formed part of a group, such as the Judgment of Paris. But in this scene, as represented on vases and coins, Aphrodite and Athena are generally seen standing, while it is only Hera who is sometimes seated. Paris himself is, of course, usually found seated. A coin of Tarsus (*e.g.*)³⁷ with this subject shows him seated on a rock, extending the apple to Aphrodite, who stands in

³⁵ Bernoulli, *Aphrodite*, p. 196 f.; Roscher's *Lexicon*, art. "Aphrodite," p. 414.

³⁶ Lanciani, *Ruins of Anc. Rome*, pp. 302-304.

³⁷ Imhoof, in *Jahrbuch arch. Inst.*, III., 1888, pl. ix., 21; p. 291 ff. ("Das Parisurtheil").

front of her rivals. It is possible that the seated Paris holding the apple may have suggested to a painter or sculptor the type of a seated Aphrodite displaying the apple after her triumph. In any case the Aphrodite of our coin has a certain grace and simplicity which seem to point to some good original.

ABYDUS (TROAD).

23. *Obv.*—Head of Apollo l., laur. ; hair long.

Rev.—ABY Eagle standing r., with wings closed ; in front, crescent.

Æ., with dark green patina. Size .75. [Pl. XI., 6.] Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, p. 4, no. 33.

The obverse is not to be classed with the splendid head of Apollo on the staters of Abydus issued *circ.* B.C. 411–387 ; it is, however, of excellent style and may be placed early in the later coin-series of this town, which in the Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas* (pl. i.), are assigned to the period B.C. 320–280.

ASSUS (TROAD).

24. *Obv.*—Head of Athena l., wearing crested helmet wreathed with olive.

Rev.—AΣΣ Bull's head, facing.

Æ., with light green patina. Size .45. [Pl. XI., 7.] Fourth cent. B.C. Cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Troas*, "Assus," nos. 4–9.

HARPASA (CARIA).

25. *Obv.*—ΑΥ·Κ·Μ·ΑΝ · ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC·CΕ· Bust of Gordian III r., radiate, wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ΑΠΤΑΧΗ ΝΩΝ Tyche-Demeter standing l. She wears calathos, chiton and peplos wound round body and l. arm; in l. hand, cornucopiae; r. hand placed on rudder holds two ears of corn and a poppy-head.

Æ. Size 1·2. [Pl. XI., 8, *rev.*].

The reverse is of good style for the period and may, perhaps, reproduce a statue of the goddess.

In ancient cultus the goddess Tyche was connected or identified with many divinities who fostered and bestowed on men the riches of field and wood—with Agathodaemon, Ploutos, Pan, and especially Demeter and Persephone.³⁸

HYDISUS (CARIA).

26. *Obv.*—Bearded male bust r., in helmet; border of dots.

Rev.—Eagle turned towards r., standing on fulmen and flapping wings; in field r., ^{ΥΔ[Ι]}ΣΕΩΝ

Æ. Size ·8. [Pl. XI., 9.] (A variety of Imhoof, *Kleinvas. M.*, p. 134, no. 2; cp. *ref.* there to coins of Hydrius.)

ANINETUS (LYDIA).

27. *Obv.*—Head of Zeus r., laureate; hair falls in formal curls; border of dots.

Rev.—ΑΝΙΝΗCΙΩΝ Eagle l., on thunderbolt; wings open; in field l., ΠΕ; in front of eagle, ear of corn and poppy-head.

Æ. Size ·7; neatly struck; green patina. [Pl. XI., 10.]

A coin of the second (or first?) century B.C., with the types of which compare Imhoof, *Lyd. Stadtmünzen*

³⁸ See Allègre, *Étude sur la déesse grecque Tyche*, chap. vii.

p. 23, no. 4. The monogram may represent a magistrate's name, seeing that such names are found on this series of coins, but it certainly recalls the mint-mark of Pergamum, familiar to us from the cistophori. Aninetus, however, was not a neighbour of Pergamum, for it lay in the Maeander valley between Mastaura and Briula.³⁹

Mr. Head suggests that the ear of corn and poppy-head are symbols of Persephone, who was probably worshipped at this city, if we may judge from the fact that the Rape of the goddess occurs on coins of Augustus.⁴⁰

ATTALEA (LYDIA).

28. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΜΑΥ ΠΑΝΤΩΝΙ[ΝΟC] Bust of young Caracalla r., laur., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; last three letters of legend obliterated by countermark, eagle with wings spread (cp. the eagle reverse-type of several coins of Attalea).

Rev.—ΕΠΙCΤΡΜΕΝΕ ΚΡΑ[ΤΟ]ΥCΒΑΤΤΑΑ ΕΑΤΩΝ Young Dionysos, standing to front, looking l., and extending r. hand to the horned Pan, who lies r. on the ground with l. hand raised. Dionysos wears wreath and endromides; body naked; his l. hand rests on thyrsos.

Æ. Size 1·2. [Pl. XI, 11.]

A quasi-autonomous coin of Attalea of the second century A.D. represents the same Pan as he dances, holding his *lagobolon* and a bunch of grapes.⁴¹ Here he is shown overcome by his exertions or by indulgence in

³⁹ Paton, cited by Imhoof, *Kleinvas. M.*, p. 168. Mr. Head remarks that it is curious that the Notitiæ Episcopatum (Ramsay, *Hist. Geog.*, table, p. 104) mention Pergamum immediately after Aninata (i.e. Aninetus).

⁴⁰ Imhoof, *Lyd. Stadtm.*, p. 23, no. 6.

⁴¹ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lydia*, "Attalea," nos. 3 and 4.

the gifts of the god of wine, who is seen helping him to his feet.

A similar coin is published in *Berliner Blätter*, V., p. 24, no. 33 (Von Rauch collection), but the recumbent figure is erroneously described as a "Stadtgöttin." The engraver (pl. lv., 8) has turned the two horns of Pan into three mural turrets and has thrown drapery over the lower limbs of the supposed goddess.

TMOLUS (LYDIA).

29. *Obv.*—CEBACTH CACEINA Bust of Sabina r.

Rev.—TMΩΛΙ ΤΩΝ Apollo naked, standing r., with r. hand fitting arrow to bow held in l. (Cp. type of Apollo in chariot, at Tmolus, under Commodus.)

Æ. Size .75. [Pl. XI., 12, *rev.*].

TRALLES (LYDIA).

30. *Obv.*—ΦΡΟΥ.ΘΑΒ.ΤΡ ΑΝΚΥΛΛΕΙΝΑ Bust of Tranquillina r., draped.

Rev.—ΕΨΤΩΝ ΠΕΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΝΚΕΝΤΑΥΡ in ex., ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩ Ν Female figure fully draped and veiled standing r., at the entrance of a shed or hut; a male figure wearing himation, who stands l. before her, extends his r. hand as if to lead her forth. (Zeus and Io.)

Æ. Size 1.2. [Pl. XII., 1, *rev.*].

Mr. Head⁴² has given a very interesting account of this remarkable specimen, which I cannot do better than quote, adding only a few notes:—"Coin of Tranquillina issued by authority of the Board of Grammateis under

⁴² Brit. Mus. Parliamentary Return, printed 1903.

the presidency of Philip the son of Centaurus. The reverse-type of this coin shows a draped figure (Zeus?) leading by the hand a veiled bride (Io?) out of a wattle shed. This entirely new and curious subject may be one of the scenes in the *Nuptials of Io* (ΕΙΟVC ΓΑΜΟ[Ι], Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lydia*, p. cxlvi.) as represented at Tralles during festival times, in commemoration of the remote Argive origin of the city.⁴³ It supplements two other scenes from the same drama (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lydia*, *loc. cit.*)⁴⁴ and may represent Zeus meeting Io in her father's cow-shed (βούστασις) whither she had been impelled by dreams to betake herself in order to fulfil her destiny" :—

σὺ δ', ὦ παῖ, μὴ 'πολακτίσῃς λέχος
τὸ Ζηνὸς, ἀλλ' ἔξελθε πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν
λειμῶνα, ποίμνας βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός,
ὥς ἂν τὸ δῖον ὄμμα λωφῇσῃ πόθου.

Aesch., *Prom. Vinc.*, 669 f. (651 f.).⁴⁵

⁴³ Compare the *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Zeus and Hera which was commemorated at Cnossus by annual sacrifices and by a mimetic representation of the marriage (Diod., V., 72). The marriage was also represented in various festivals, especially in the *Heraia* in Caria and elsewhere. (See Graillot, art. "Hieros Gamos" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict.*). The union of Zeus (as a serpent) and Persephone was shown to the epoptae at the Eleusinia.

⁴⁴ The two scenes are:—ΕΙΟVC ΓΑΜΟ[Ι] Hermes conducting Io (Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lyd.*, p. 348, no. 142), and Io (?) as a bride seated in chariot drawn by bulls, conducted by Hermes (?) (*ib.*, p. 348, no. 141). For references as to sacred chariots represented on coins, see Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, &c., p. xc. As to the vehicle in which a bride proceeded on the journey (ἀγωγή) from her father's house to her husband's see art. "Matrimonium" in Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict.*, p. 1651; cp. *J. H. S.*, p. 132.

⁴⁵ Or the scene represented on the coin may possibly refer to a later incident, when Io, at the Egyptian Canobus, is restored to sanity by the gentle touch of Zeus's hand and becomes the mother of Epaphus the ancestor of the Argive Danaoi (*Prom. Vinc.*, 865 f. (846 f.)).

ATTALIA (PAMPHYLIA).

31. *Obv.*—ΠΟΥ . ΛΙΚ . Κ . ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΝ ΘΕ Bust of Cornelius Valerianus r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass; in front I.

Rev.—ΑΤΤΑΛΕΩΝΟΙΚΟΜΕΝ[ΙΚΟC] Prize-crown, containing two palm branches, placed on table inscribed ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ.

Æ. Size 1·35. (Types similar to Hill, *Cat., Lycia, &c.*, pl. xxiii., 10; *cp. p. lxxvi.*)

ANTIOCHIA (PISIDIA).

32. *Obv.*—Bust of Mên r., in Phrygian cap; crescent at shoulder.

Rev.—ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙ[Δ] Nike advancing r.; over shoulder, palm branch, which she supports with both hands; r. and l. of Nike, star.

Æ. Size ·8. [PL. XII., 2.]

The coinage of the Pisidian Antioch was formerly supposed⁴⁶ to begin only with the foundation of the *colonia* by Augustus, B.C. 25, but the city is now known to have had an autonomous currency of the first century (before B.C. 25),⁴⁷ namely the coins with *obv.* Head of Mên, *rev.* Nike or Zebu, hitherto assigned to Antioch on the Maeander (Caria). This coin adds another name to the list of magistrates found on this series.

ETENNA (PISIDIA).

33. *Obv.*—Μ.ΩΤΑΚΙΛΙΑ ΘΕΟΥΗΡΑΘΕΒ Bust of Otacilia Severa r.

⁴⁶ Brit. Mus. *Cat., Lycia, &c.*, p. cxii.

⁴⁷ Babelon, *Invent. Wadd.*, nos. 8566-8570; Imhoof, *Kleinere M.*, II., p. 356 f.

Rev.—ΕΤΕΝ ΝΕ ΩΝ Helios, radiate, standing l.; r. hand upraised, in l. hand, lighted torch; chlamys round l. arm.

Æ. Size 1·2. [Pl. XII., 3.] Neatly struck on a large flan; cp. *Invent. Wadd.*, 3729.

PROSTANNA (PISIDIA).

34. *Obv.*—ΑΥΚΜΑΥ ΑΝΤΩΝ[ΕΙΝΟC] Bust of Elagabalus r., laur., wearing paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ΠΡ ΟCΤΑ ΝΝΕΩΝ Male figure, bearded (?), standing l.; wears himation over left shoulder and lower limbs; in r., branch; l. hand at side, covered by drapery.

Æ. Size 1·05. [Pl. XII., 4, *rev.*].

An addition to the varied series of coin-types found at Prostanna.⁴⁸ The standing figure is not easily identified, but as the mountain Viaros often occurs on the coins of this place, I would suggest, though with hesitation, that he is the mountain divinity.

The branch and the arrangement of the drapery would be suitable to such a god,⁴⁹ though mountain-gods are usually represented seated or reclining.

LAODICEA COMBUSTA (LYCAONIA).

35. *Obv.*—ΤΙΤΟCΚΑΙΔΟΜΙΤΙ[ΑΝ]ΟCΚΑΙCΑΡΕC Heads of Titus and Domitian, both bare, confronted.

Rev.—ΚΑΑΥΔΙΟΛΑΟ ΔΙΚΕΩΝ Kybele in chiton and tall head-dress seated l. on throne; in outstretched r. hand, phiale; l. hand rests on tympanon; beneath throne, lion lying l.

⁴⁸ Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Lycia, &c.*, p. cvi.; Imhoof, *Kleinvas. M.*, II., p. 389 f.

⁴⁹ For mountain-gods on coins, see Imhoof, *Kleinvas. M.*, p. 18; p. 80; p. 503, and *ref.* there.

Æ. Size .9. [Pl. XII., 5, *rev.*] (Cp. Babelon, *Invent. Wadd.*, no. 4779; see also Hill, *Cat., Lycæonia*, p. xxii. f.; Imhoof, *Kl. M.*, p. 419.)

LAERTES (CILICIA).

36. *Obv.*—ΑΥ·ΚΑΙ·ΤΡΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC Bust of Hadrian r., laur., in paludamentum and cuirass.

Rev.—ΛΑΕΡΤΕΙ[ΤΩΝ] Zeus, wearing himation, standing l.; in outstretched r. hand, phiale; l. hand holds long sceptre; before him, eagle l., looking back.

Æ. Size 1.1. [Pl. XII., 7, *rev.*]

A seated Zeus, with his eagle before him, occurs at Laertes under several emperors (Hadrian, Trebonianus Gallus, Gallienus).⁵⁰

TARSUS (CILICIA).

37. *Obv.*—ΒΑΛ·ΤΑΡC seated r., on throne without back; r. hand upraised; on extended l. hand, eagle (?); border of dots.

Rev.—ΤΑΡC (Tars). Male figure (Baal Tars?), bearded(?), hair short, standing r.; on outstretched l. hand, eagle r.; r. hand holds short sceptre; wears chlamys fastened by brooch. The muscles of the body are represented in exaggerated detail, and the chlamys hangs behind the back, falling in formal folds; slight circular incuse.

Æ. Size .35. Wt. 13.3 grains. [Pl. XII., 6.]

ANCYRA (GALATIA).

38. *Obv.*—ΑΥΤ·Κ·Μ·ΑΥΡΗ·ΑΝΤ·ΩΝΕΙΝΟC . . .
Head of Caracalla r., bearded, laur.

⁵⁰ *Num. Chron.*, 1900, p. 203. On coins of Laertes, see Hill, *Brit. Mus. Cat., Lycæonia*, &c., p. xxxiv., and Imhoof, *Kleinere M.*, p. 463.

Rev.—

ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ

ANKVPA

C

Panther standing r., suckling infant (Dionysos) seated l. ; on r., boy (Satyr ?) stands l., caressing panther's head with both hands ; in background, vine tree.

Æ. Size 1·15. [Pl. XII., 8, rev.]

A coin with a similar reverse is in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge.⁵¹ The type (sometimes with the standing figure omitted) occurs also at Ancyra under J. Domna, Geta, Elagabalus and Valerian.⁵² Until now this interesting type has not been represented in the British Museum, and for this reason, and because I believe no photographic reproduction has been published, the coin is here included.

I have not been able to find any exact analogy to this charming composition, which probably existed independently in painting or relief. The scene is doubtless Dionysiac,⁵³ because the tree is a vine, and the animal, seemingly, a panther rather than a lioness. A cultus of Dionysos existed at Ancyra and the god is often represented on its coins.⁵⁴

After the death of his mother Semele, the infant Dionysos had many nurses and protectors—Ino, the Nymphs of Nysa, the Maenads, Makris, who fed him with honey, Zeus, who preserved him in his thigh. There does not appear, however, to be any legend of his being suckled by an animal, though on a marble relief in the

⁵¹ Leake, *Num. Hell.*, sup. Asia, p. 15.

⁵² Babelon, *Invent. Wadd.*, nos. 6637, 6641, 6644 ; Cohen, *Cat. Græco* (1867), p. 176 ; Drexler in *Z. f. N.*, xv., p. 88.

⁵³ So Babelon, *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ See *C. I. G.*, no. 4020, and *Brit. Mus. Cat., Galatia*, "Ancyra," under Caracalla.

Naples Museum a goat is seen suckling the infant Dionysos,⁵⁵ just as Amalthea suckled Zeus. It is hard to say, therefore, whether the scene on our coin is a mere fancy of the artist or whether it embodies one of the myriad legends of the infancy of Dionysos.

The little figure on the right can hardly be a wingless Eros, as Drexler has suggested, but is probably a youthful Satyr who is fearlessly caressing the good-natured -- and almost human -- panther. Dr. Otto Keller,⁵⁶ who has collected the Dionysiac scenes in which the panther figures, pleasantly summarises them as follows:--"Man halt ihn auf dem Schooss, streichelt ihn, neckt ihn, packt ihn am Schwanz, während er trinken will, oder giesst ihm den Wein auf den Kopf, füttert ihn mit Speise und Wein, ja mit Menschenmilch."⁵⁷

ANCYRA (GALATIA).

39. *Obv.* ΑΝΩΝΙΝΟC ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC Head of Caracalla r., bearded and laur.

Rev.—ΜΗΡΟΠΟ . ΑΝΥΡΑCΙΕΩΠΥΘΙΑ Male figure, wearing himation, which covers his lower limbs and left shoulder, seated l. on (stone) seat; in extended r. hand, prize-crown containing palm branch; l. hand rests on seat. On the seat, ^{ΙΕΡ}ΟΕ; in ex., ΑΓΩΝ.

Æ. Size 1·2. [PL XII., 9, *rev.*]

Ancyra, under Caracalla, displays a large series of agonistic types relating to the ΙCΩΠΥΘΙΑ and other public

⁵⁵ Cited by Lenormant, art. "Bacchus," Daremberg, *Dict.*, p. 603.

⁵⁶ *Thiers des classischen Alterthums* (1887), p. 150 f.

⁵⁷ See Keller's note 128, p. 392.

games. On one coin⁵⁸ we find ΑΓΩΝ inscribed on a prize-crown⁵⁹; on another, ΙΕΡΟC ΑΓΩΝ accompanies a similar crown.⁶⁰ ΙΕΡΟC ΑΓΩΝ is also found at Nicaea in Bithynia, with type, prize-crown,⁶¹ also with type, athlete standing wreathing himself;⁶² cp. ΙΕΡΟC ΜΥCΤΙΚΟC at Side, ΙΕΡΟC ΟΙΚΟΜΕΝΙΚΟC at Attalea, &c.

At first sight the inscription ΙΕΡΟC ΑΓΩΝ on our coin seems to identify the seated figure as "Agôn," the personification of athletic sports and other contests,⁶³ but the instances above cited show clearly that this inscription has reference to the games generally and is not descriptive of the figure represented. This figure is of muscular, almost Herculean appearance, but I do not think that he is a victorious athlete, seeing that he wears a himation and that the athletes seen on the coins of Ancyra⁶⁴ and elsewhere are slim and naked. He is a more important personage—the judge or institutor of the contests (ἀγωνοθέτης) holding forth the prize-crown to the victor.

BAMBYCE, afterwards HIEROPOLIS (CYRRHÆSTICA).

40. *Obv.*—Bust of the goddess Atergatis facing; her hair falling in two formal curls; she wears ornamented calathos, necklace and drapery; on l., 𐤁 ; on r., name of *Atergatis* written in Aramaic characters; border of dots.

⁵⁸ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, "Ancyra," no. 26.

⁵⁹ The object usually called a prize-urn, but see Dressel in *Z. f. N.*, xxiv., p. 34 f.

⁶⁰ *Mion.*, iv., p. 384, no. 63.

⁶¹ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Pontus*, &c., p. 160 and p. 166.

⁶² Maqdonald, *Hunter Coll.*, II., p. 248, no. 18.

⁶³ Personifications of Agôn are mentioned in the writers, Ἀγὼν φέρων ἀλγῆρας, &c., but no quite certain representations have been identified in existing monuments; Reisch, art. "Agon" in *Pauly-Wissowa*.

⁶⁴ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Galatia*, "Ancyra," no. 22.

Rev.—Within a temple supported by two Ionic columns, Abd-Hadad (priest and king of Bamyce *circa* B.C. 332) standing before altar; he wears tall conical head-dress and a long embroidered robe; his right hand is raised and holds a pine-cone; in his left hand is a phiale⁹; in front, Θ; behind, name of *Abd-Hadad* written in Aramaic characters, slight circular incuse.

R. Size .9. Wt. 121.2 grains. [Pl. XII, 10.] (Cp. the specimen at Paris, *Babelon, Perses Achém.*, p. 45, no. 315 (cp. p. li. f.) = *Rev. Num.*, 1861, p. 9, no. 1 (Waddington) = *Num. Chron.*, 1878, p. 105, no. 5 (J. P. Six); cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat., Galatia, &c.*, p. liii.)

LEUCAS ON THE CHRYSOROAS (*Coch-Syria*).

41. A coin of Trajan, similar to *Brit. Mus. Cat., Galatia, &c.*, p. 296, no. 3 (types, *obv.* Head of Trajan, *rev.* Emperor in quadriga).

It is countermarked on the obverse very clearly with the letters ΔΑΡ,⁹⁵ evidently with a view to giving the coin currency under Hadrian. I believe that coins of Leucas bearing the head of Hadrian are unknown, and it would seem likely that none were struck, or, if struck, only in small quantities, the deficiency being supplied by countermarking the coins of Trajan.

UNCERTAIN.

42. *Obv.*—Prow r.; above, Δ; border of dots.

Rev.—Ε, on r. of which, aphlaston.

Æ. Size .8. [Pl. XII, 11.] (Cp. *Imhoof, Monn. Gr.*, p. 467, no. 53; cp. *Kl. M.*, p. 529; *Svoronos*, in *R. N.*, 1888, p. 60, no. 1, and *Grôte*, p. 149.)

⁹⁵ The countermark on the coin in the *Brit. Mus. Cat.* (p. 296, no. 3) is obscure, but it was read ΔΑΚ, as a coin in *Rollin's Cat.* (cp. *De Sauley, Terre-Sainte*, p. 25) is described as bearing this countermark. But in the light of our new coin the British Museum specimen, and doubtless also the *Rollin* specimen, should certainly be read ΔΑΡ.

The attribution of this coin and of others bearing the same monogram still remains undetermined. Can anything be ascertained as to their provenance? Dr. Imhoof-Blumer considers them to be of Asia Minor (Carian, Pamphylian or Pisidian). Svoronos, who assigned them to Erannos in Crete, now leaves them "Uncertain."

WARWICK WROTH.

XII.

A FIND OF COINS OF ALFRED THE GREAT AT STAMFORD.



HALFPENNY OF ALFRED.

ON the 25th August last year, as a workman named Thomas Brown was digging out trenches near the premises known as Cornstall Buildings in St. Leonard's Street, Stamford, for the purpose of laying the drain pipes in connexion with a sewerage scheme for the borough, he unearthed some coins of the time of Alfred the Great. Whether the coins were placed in a vessel of some kind I do not know; but from their appearance it is very evident that they had been a good deal exposed to the dampness of the soil. The police having received notice of the find secured as many as possible, and the coroner having declared them to be treasure-trove they were sent to H.M. Treasury and thence to the British Museum. The coins forwarded to the Museum were fifteen in number, viz., nine pennies and four halfpennies of Alfred the Great, a half-denier of Charles the Bald of France, and a shilling of George III, dated 1817.

From information subsequently obtained the coins sent to the Treasury formed only a portion of the hoard. Others of Alfred and his time, pennies and halfpennies, to the number of at least a dozen, are known to have passed into private hands; but when inquiry was made about them by the police, they were informed by the holder that he had lost them on his journey from London to Stamford. This reason rather savours of what at a later date would constitute treasure-trove itself, and would seem to imply that the holder had lost them in such a manner as to make their recovery, if desirable, not impossible.

The coins sent to the Museum are as follows:—


ALFRED THE GREAT.

(Pennies.)

With Mint Name.

LINCOLN.


1. *Obv.*—EL FR ED RE. Small cross pattée.

Rev.—Monogram  ^{ERE}_{HEE} (Herebert ?); above, LIII;
below, CXXIIA (Lincolla).

Wt. 20·5 grs. [Brit. Mus. Cat., Vol. II.,
p. 46, no. 83.]

LONDON.

2. *Obv.*—ÆLF REDR. Bust to right, in armour; head bound with diadem.

Rev.—Monogram  (Londonia); above, ∴; below, ∴.

Wt. 18·5 grs. [See Brit. Mus. Cat., Vol. II.,
p. 48, no. 102.]

3. *Obv.*—Similar; legend ✠ AEFER ED RE; bust rude.

Rev.—Similar; six pellets in O; above, ∴; below, ∴.


Wt. 21·6 grs.

4. *Obv.*—Similar; legend ✠ AEFER ED RE; bust rude.

Rev.—Similar; three pellets in D; none in O and no ornaments above or below.

Wt. 17·5 grs.

5. *Obv.*—TEL VVIN. Bust to r., of rude work, in armour; head bound with diadem.

Rev.—Monogram  (Londonia); above, ∴; below, ∴.

Wt. 12·4 grs.

Without Mint-Name.

6. *Obv.*—EL FR ED REX. Small cross pattée.

Rev.—Moneyer's name in two lines $\begin{smallmatrix} \Lambda \Gamma \text{NEE} \\ \Lambda \text{NEE} \end{smallmatrix}$ (uncertain).

Wt. 13·5 grs.

7. *Obv.*—XE FR ED RY. Small cross pattée.

Rev.—Moneyer's name in two lines $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{LIERL} \\ \text{I} \Gamma \text{A} \Gamma \text{I} \end{smallmatrix}$ (uncertain).

Wt. 17·7 grs.

8. *Obv.*—EL FR ED REX. Small cross pattée.

Rev.—Moneyer's name in two lines $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{LVDIC} \\ \text{M} \Phi \text{H} \end{smallmatrix}$


Wt. 19·8 grs.

9. *Obv.*—Similar.

Rev.—Moneyer's name in two lines $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{LVDI} \\ + \\ \text{MON} \end{smallmatrix}$ (Ludig).


Wt. 16·8 grs.

(Halfpennies.)


10. *Obv.*—EL FR ED RE. Small cross pattée.*Rev.*—Monogram  (=A ω); around, TIL VVN (Tilewine).

Wt. 7·7 grs.

11. Similar. Wt. 6·8 grs.

12. *Obv.*—EL FR ED RE. Small cross pattée.*Rev.*—Moneyer's name in two lines  TILE
VVVE (Tilewine).

Wt. 8·6 grs.

13. *Obv.*— EL EF DR LE. Small cross pattée.*Rev.*—Moneyer's name in two lines  EUNA
H * H (uncertain).

Wt. 8·8 grs.

FOREIGN.

CHARLES THE BALD, A.D. 840–877.

(Half-denier or Obolo of St. Denis.)

14. *Obv.*—+ GRATIA D—I REX. Monogram of CAROLVS.*Rev.*—+ S[C]AIONVM. Cross pattée. Wt. 7·1 grs.
[Gariel, *Monn. roy. de France*, Pl. xxxiv.,
no. 223.]

The shilling of George III, though found during the course of digging the trenches for the drainage, was probably not part of the hoard. It was of the ordinary type of 1817.

The coins of Alfred which were in the hoard but which were not secured by H.M. Treasury were six or seven pennies with *rev.* moneyer's name in two lines, and three or four halfpennies, one or two of the common type

like the pennies; one with the king's bust and monogram of London, and one with the monogram Æ on the reverse as nos. 10 and 11. With these were shown one or two Cunetti pennies, which may have been in the hoard, a Roman coin and a sixpence of Elizabeth (?), which, like the shilling of George III, may have been dug up elsewhere.

This small hoard is interesting from two points of view; first on account of the strong Danish element which pervades it; and secondly because it adds another type to Alfred's coinage in the series of halfpennies, which are all of considerable rarity.

Of the Danish element the coin of Lincoln is a good example. This specimen varies slightly from, I believe, the only other example known, which is in the British Museum, in reading $\text{LINCE} \& \text{HIA}$ for $\text{LINCE} \& \text{LLA}$, and in a slight difference in the monogram of the moneyer's name HERIBERT. Though it bears the name of Alfred, yet it is very clear from its style of work that it was not issued from any of his mints; and in support of this statement I think I shall be able to show that when this coin was struck, the city of Lincoln was under Danish control, and practically independent of Alfred's authority. Heribert too was essentially a Danish moneyer, as his name does not appear on any of Alfred's own coins. Of the London coins nos. 3, 4, and 5 are also of Danish work. Nos. 3 and 4 present us with a rude bust of the king and the legend on the obverse is blundered, whilst on no. 5, instead of the king's name on the obverse, we have that of the moneyer "Tilewine." That this substitution of the moneyer's name for that of the king was not pure accident, is shown by another coin of Lincoln in the British Museum, which has the monogram of the city on the reverse, and on the obverse around the bust

the name of the moneyer "Heribert," who as we have seen struck another type in that city. Tilewine was a moneyer of Alfred, and appears on coins struck by him in London. It is probable therefore that the Danish coin was copied from the London piece, and this circumstance may help in some way to fix the date of the coins of Alfred struck at London of the monogram type.

In his account of the well-known coin of Halfdan, which has on the obverse two figures seated facing and behind them a winged figure, and on the reverse the monogram of London, as on coins of Alfred,¹ and which is supposed to have been struck in London, when the Danish leader was there in A.D. 874, Mr. Keary says: "Probably this coin is the inauguration of the monogram type. The monogram upon the reverse of coins had been hitherto essentially a Frankish device. And not only is it *primâ facie* probable that the Vikings would be more familiar than the English with the Frankish currency of this date (so much of which had been paid as ransom into their pockets), but we have evidence in the Cuerdale coins that the Vikings, in the earliest coins which they struck for their own use, were disposed to imitate the coinage of the Franks. This first London monogram, then, was introduced in A.D. 874. But Halfdan only remained a short time in London. It is highly probable that after his departure the Londoners continued to strike coins with this monogram, but placed upon it the head and name of Alfred."² Historical evidence favours strongly this view. London was a Mercian city, and Alfred during the first few years of his

¹ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, Vol. II., p. xxxiv.

² Brit. Mus. Cat., *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, Vol. II., p. xxxix.

reign was kept in the west by the Danes, and it is evident that he never was near London till some time after the departure of Halfdan, and perhaps not until after the defeat of Guthorm (Aethelstan) at Aethandune in A.D. 878. As a rule the Viking coins struck at this time, south of the Humber, were copied from English types; but this monogram type of London could well have been an exception, if we take into consideration also the piece with the monogram of Lincoln, which is of the same period and is undoubtedly of Viking or Danish work.

We may therefore take it that the London monogram type was instituted by Halfdan and continued by Alfred, and though its use may have extended over a few years it must have been adopted by Alfred not later than A.D. 878. When Guthorm (Aethelstan) settled down into his kingdom after the peace of Wedmore, he adopted for the type of his coins that of Alfred, which have on the reverse the moneyer's name in two lines, and on the obverse a small cross pattée. This settlement of Guthorm does not appear to have been accomplished before A.D. 880, and it is to this period that I would attribute the issue of the Danish imitations of the London monogram type. Guthorm reigned till A.D. 890; but it is possible that he allowed a short time to intervene after his settlement before he set his mint or mints in operation.

The blundered legends on nos. 6 and 7, which are of the common type of Alfred's coins, show that these also are Danish imitations. This type, I think, we may safely look upon as belonging to the later issues of Alfred's coinage.

Amongst the halfpennies, those with the name of the moneyer Tilewine may certainly be given to London,

and no. 13, on account of its blundered legends, is probably another Danish imitation. The ornamented O on the reverse of the last piece is not infrequently found on Alfred's coins of Oxford.

Perhaps the most interesting pieces in the hoard are the two halfpennies which have for reverse type the monogram of A and ω (*Alpha and Omega*). We meet with these letters as types of coins in more than one form on English coins of the tenth century. On coins of Aethelstan I of East Anglia we have the π for the obverse type, and the II for the reverse³; on others of Ceolwulf I and Berhtulf of Mercia these letters are placed in monogram, $\text{A}\omega$, the ω being below the π .⁴ This type was copied by Ecgberht.⁵ The new type of Alfred varies from them in having the ω placed above the π , and thus forming what in Merovingian coinage would be called a *croix ancree fourchée*. It is not impossible that the Merovingian *croix ancree* suggested the design to Alfred's moneyer; but this precise combination does not occur on the Merovingian money. This new type of Alfred is therefore an important addition to the coinage of that monarch.

The presence of the obole or half-denier of Charles the Bald in the hoard needs no comment. Many coins of this class must, as we have already remarked, have been in the hands of the Danish invaders, and in the Cuerdale hoard they existed in considerable numbers. The St. Denis at which this coin was struck, I conclude, was the St. Denis just outside Paris. The coins of this mint

³ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, Vol. I., pl. xiv., 12.

⁴ *Ib.*, pl. ix., 4, and pl. x., 4.

⁵ *Ib.*, Vol. II., pl. i., 2.

are scarce, and M. Gariel⁶ only figures an imperfect specimen of this piece in the hoard, which itself is considerably worn by being in circulation.

Any attempt to explain the circumstances under which the burial of the hoard took place would be pure conjecture; but the very limited number of coins which it contained shows that it was probably the savings of a private individual. Its discovery at Stamford is of considerable interest, and would fully account for the strong Danish element which pervades it.

That city was one of the "Five Burgs," the others being Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby and Leicester, which were set apart for the occupation of the Danish population in England, and which became practically fortified cities. They appear to have been governed by their own laws, and to have formed separate small republics within the state. No doubt amongst their privileges they exercised also that of coining money, and this alone fully accounts for the large number of imitations of Alfred's coins which still exist and are still being constantly found. The date of the assignment of these cities to the Viking invaders is uncertain, but as they were incorporated with the English kingdom in the reign of Edward the Elder, or at latest, in that of his son Edmund,⁷ it must have occurred soon after the death of Guthorm in A.D. 890, when Alfred took over Mercia and East Anglia and joined them to his own kingdom. This supplies us with the approximate date of the concealment of the hoard, which would be during the later years of Alfred, i.e. between A.D. 890-901, probably nearer the latter than the former year.

II. A. GRUEBER.

⁶ *Monn. royales de France*, pl. xxxiv., no. 223.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat., Anglo-Saxon Coins*, Vol. II., p. lv.

XIII.

HISTORY AND COINAGE OF MALWA.

I.

HISTORY.

General Summary.

THE old kingdom of Malwa was bounded by the Nerbudda on the south, the Chambal on the north, Gujerat on the west, and Bundelkand on the east. The limits of ancient Malwa were, therefore, much more extended than those of the present Province of that name, comprising as it did the existing Agencies of Indore, Gwalior, Banswarra, Western Malwa, Guna, Bhopal, and Bhopawar, and including, among others, the modern States of Gwalior, Indore, Bhopal, Jaora, Rutlam, Dhar, and Jhalawar. Hoshang Shah extended his sway over Gondwarra (Kherla), Hoshangabad, and Kalpi, and is said to have even penetrated to Jajnagar in Orissa. In the reign of Mahmud I, when the kingdom reached its zenith of power, the limits of Malwa were extended by conquest to Biana, Karauli, Ajmer, Rantambhor, Dongarpur, and Kechwara, while tribute was exacted from the Rajput States of Mewar, Kotah, and Bundi. It was at first ruled by a long series of Hindu kings, among the most celebrated of whom were Vikramajit (56 B.C.), and Raja Bhoja Deva (11th century A.D.) The grandson of Raja Bhoja was taken prisoner and his

country conquered by the Raja of Gujerat, but Malwa soon recovered its independence under a new dynasty. Malwa was one of the last of the ancient Hindu States to submit to Muhammedan rule. In 399 A.H. (= 1008 A.D.), the Raja of Malwa joined the Hindu confederacy against Mahmud of Ghazni, who in revenge marched his devastating army through the country. The son of another Ghaznevide king, Ibrahim, is also said to have subdued Malwa, but both these expeditions can only be regarded in the light of forays. In 623-30 A.H. (= 1226-32 A.D.), the Delhi Emperor, Shams ud Din Altamsh, conquered Malwa, but the province revolted, and had to be resubdued in the reign of Nasir ud Din Mahmud, 646-49 A.H. (= 1248-51 A.D.), by his Wazir, Ghyas ud Din Balban, who afterwards usurped the Imperial throne. In the reign of Jelal ud Din Firoz II the people of Malwa again rose in rebellion, and resisted the inconclusive attempts of the Emperor to subdue them in 691-92 A.H. (= 1291-92 A.D.). The first permanent conquest of Malwa by the Muhammedans was effected by the Emperor Ala ud Din Muhammed, whose general, Ain ul Mulk, defeated and killed the Raja Mahlak Deo at Mandu, 705 A.H. (= 1305 A.D.), and was appointed Viceroy of the conquered province. In 744 A.H. (= 1343 A.D.), Katlagh Khan, the Viceroy of Malwa, was recalled, and the government of the province entrusted by the Emperor, Muhammed Tughlak, to a low-born ruffian, named Aziz Himâr, who by his cruelty and oppression raised the whole country in revolt. Aziz Himâr was killed by the insurgents, who were not subdued until the Emperor marched against them in person, 745 A.H. (= 1344 A.D.). Malwa remained a province of the Delhi Empire until the death of Muhammed III,

son of Firoz III, in 795 A.H. (= 1392 A.D.), when Dilawar Khan Ghori, the Viceroy, asserted his independence, though he did not actually assume the ensigns of royalty till 804 A.H. (= 1401 A.D.), in the second reign of Mahmud II. In 839 A.H. (= 1435 A.D.), the Ghori dynasty of Malwa was replaced by that of the Khiljis, which lasted until the conquest of Malwa by Bahadar Shah, King of Gujerat, in 937 A.H. (= 1530 A.D.). Malwa subsequently, 941 A.H. (= 1534 A.D.), fell temporarily into the hands of Humayun, but was partially reconquered in 943 A.H. (= 1536 A.D.) by an officer of the Khilji dynasty named Kadir Shah. In 949 A.H. (= 1542 A.D.), the Suri Emperor of Delhi, Sher Shah, became possessed of Malwa, to the government of which a noble named Shuja' Khan was appointed. Except for a short space, during which Isa Khan ruled Malwa on behalf of the Suri Emperor, Islam Shah, Shuja' Khan continued to govern this province until his death in 962 A.H. (= 1554 A.D.), when he was succeeded by his son Malik Bayazid; who after defeating his two younger brothers, Daulat Khan and Mustafa Khan, was crowned in 963 A.H. (= 1555 A.D.) under the title of Sultan Baz Bahadur.

In 968 A.H. (= 1560 A.D.) Malwa was conquered for Akbar by his general, Adam Khan. In 969 A.H. (= 1561 A.D.), Baz Bahadur recovered his kingdom, but was again dispossessed in the following year, 970 A.H. (= 1562 A.D.). For eight years Baz Bahadur maintained a guerilla warfare against the Moghal troops with varying success, but finally submitted in 978 A.H. (= 1570 A.D.), when the province of Malwa was incorporated in the Moghal Empire.

The following is a genealogical table of the Ghori and Khilji dynasties :—

Table continued from page 359.

Name of Ruler.	Historical Reign.	Coin Dates.
Ghyas ud Din	873-906	*864, *865, *866, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 886, 887, 889, 890, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906.
Nasir ud Din	906-916	906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916.
Mahmud II	916-937	917, 918, 919, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931.
Muhammed II (Rebel)	916-921	917, 921.
Ibrahim Lodi (occupation of Chanderi)	—	Square dateless coin.
Bahadur Shah (king of Gujerat)	937-941	Square dateless coin.
Humayun	941-943	942 (Mandu).
Kadir Shah (nominal vassal of Bahadur Shah of Gujerat)	943-949	No coins.
Shuja' Khan (Viceroy for Sher Shah and Islam Shah)	949-962	No coins.
Baz Bahadur	962-968	Square dateless coin.
Adam Khan (Viceroy of Akbar)	968	No coins.
Pir Muhammed (Viceroy of Akbar)	969	No coins.
Baz Bahadur (restored)	969-970	No coins.
Abdullah Khan (Viceroy of Akbar)	970-972	Square dateless issue of Uj-jain.
Baz Bahadur carries on guerilla warfare with Akbar	970-978	
Baz Bahadur's final submission to Akbar	978	

* Struck in his father's lifetime as heir-apparent.

GHORI KINGS.

DILAWAR KHAN.

Dilawar Khan's grandfather came from Ghor, and held office under the Delhi Government. His father was ennobled, and he himself attained high rank in the reign of Firoz III. During the reign of Muhammed III. 792-795 A.H. (= 1389-92 A.D.) he was nominated to the government of Malwa. On assuming independence in 795 A.H. (= 1392 A.D.), Dilawar Khan made Dhar his capital, though he often visited Mandu, which came to be the seat of government in the next reign. In 801 A.H. (= 1398 A.D.), Mahmud II, the Delhi Emperor, having been driven from his throne by Amir Timur, fled to Gujerat. As, however, his reception by the ruler of that kingdom, Muzaffer Shah I, was not satisfactory, he sought protection in Malwa, where he was hospitably entertained by Dilawar Khan for three years. This courteous treatment of the exiled Emperor was not pleasing to Dilawar Khan's son, Hoshang Shah, who retired in disgust to Mandu, where he remained during Mahmud's residence in Malwa, and which he employed himself in fortifying.

In 804 A.H. (= 1401 A.D.), Mahmud quitted Malwa for Delhi, where he resumed the reins of government, taking with him a quantity of money and jewels supplied by his loyal supporter, Dilawar Khan. On his departure Hoshang Shah returned, and shortly afterwards, at his instance, Dilawar Khan assumed royal state. He only survived his assumption of regal power four years, as he died suddenly in 808 A.H. (= 1405 A.D.). It has been alleged that his death was due to poison administered

by his son Hoshang Shah, and the invasion of Malwa by the King of Gujerat, Muzaffer Shah I, to revenge his friend's death, lends colour to this story, which however is discredited by Ferishta.

HOSHANG SHAH.

Alp Khan, better known as Hoshang Shah Ghorî, succeeded his father as king in Malwa, and reigned twenty-seven years, 808-835 A.H. (= 1405-1431 A.D.). In 810 A.H. (= 1407 A.D.), Muzaffer Shah I, King of Gujerat, invaded Malwa to revenge the suspected murder of his old comrade Dilawar Khan. A battle was fought at Dhar, which resulted in favour of Muzaffer Shah. Hoshang Shah, who surrendered, was taken to Gujerat, and detained as a State prisoner. Nasrat Khan, Muzaffer Shah's brother, was left in charge of the government of Malwa, but his oppressive rule created universal disaffection. The people of Malwa accordingly rose in rebellion, drove out Nasrat Khan, and elected Musa Khan, the nephew of Dilawar Khan, as their leader. The astute Hoshang Shah took immediate advantage of this *émeute*, and persuaded Muzaffer Shah to release him, and reinstate him on his throne, as a vassal of Gujerat. Accordingly, in 811 A.H. (= 1408 A.D.), Ahmed Shah, the Gujerat king's grandson, accompanied Hoshang Shah to Dhar, and after reducing that place, and restoring his authority, returned to Gujerat. Meanwhile Mandu still held out under Musa Khan, and for a time defied all Hoshang Shah's efforts to capture it. The defection of Malik Moghis, the cousin of Hoshang Shah, however, compelled Musa Khan to surrender, and Hoshang Shah thereupon entered Mandu, and resumed the reins of

government. In 813 A.H. (= 1410 A.D.), Muzaffer Shah I died, and Ahmed Shah succeeded him on the throne of Gujerat. Unmindful of past favours, Hoshang Shah supported the cause of Firoz Khan and Haibat Khan, the sons of Nasrat Khan, against their uncle Ahmed Shah, by an incursion into Gujerat, which, however, was unsuccessful. In 816 A.H. (= 1413 A.D.), Hoshang Shah opened secret correspondence with certain disloyal nobles of Gujerat, and, taking advantage of Ahmed Shah's campaign against the Raja of Jalwara, led an army into Gujerat territory, which he began to lay waste. Ahmed Shah, however, postponing his attack on Jalwara, despatched a powerful force under Imad ul Mulk, which compelled Hoshang Shah to retire. In 821 A.H. (= 1418 A.D.), after the reduction of Julner, at the solicitation of the Khandesh prince, Muhammed Ittikhar, who had been driven out by his elder brother, Malik Nasir, an attack was made on Sultanpur, a district of Gujerat, by Ghazni Khan, the crown prince of Malwa, which was frustrated by the sudden advance of Ahmed Shah. While Ahmed Shah was engaged in the Sultanpur direction, Hoshang Shah invaded Gujerat by way of Mahrassa, but the Rajas of Jalwara, Idar, Champanir, and Nandot, who had invited him to join the confederacy, failed him at this critical juncture, and he was obliged to retreat again into Malwa before Ahmed Shah's rapid advance. Ahmed Shah then marched into Malwa, defeated Hoshang Shah at Kalliada, and pursued him to the gates of Mandu, which was too strong for him to attack. In 822 A.H. (= 1419 A.D.), Ahmed Shah returned to Gujerat. In the latter end of the same year this king took measures for completing his conquest of Malwa, but, on Hoshang Shah sending an embassy to him with

splendid presents to appease his wrath, he accepted terms, and returned to Ahmedabad. About this time Hoshang Shah began to evince great partiality towards Malik Mahmud, the son of his cousin Malik Moghis, on whom he conferred the title of Khan, and the office of Deputy Wazir. He generally accompanied his sovereign in the field, while his father, the Wazir, usually remained at the capital. This is the first we hear of a man who afterwards ascended the throne of Malwa as Mahmud I. In 823 A.H. (= 1420 A.D.), Hoshang Shah undertook a successful campaign against Narsingh Rai, the chief of Gondwara, who was defeated and killed. On this occasion many elephants and a vast quantity of treasure fell into his hands, and the young Raja became his vassal. By this victory Kherla, the Raja's capital, together with the adjoining territory, came into Hoshang Shah's possession, a circumstance, however, which later involved him in hostilities with the Bahmani king of the Deccan. Hoshang Shah had previously built the city of Hoshangabad on the left bank of the Nerbudda to facilitate operations against the Hindu princes of Gondwara. In 825 A.H. (= 1421 A.D.), the king made an excursion in disguise to Jainagar with a small following for the purpose of obtaining elephants. He captured the Raja of Jainagar, and secured a large number of elephants with which the Raja had purchased his liberty. On his return to Malwa he was greeted with the news that his kingdom had been invaded, and his capital besieged by the king of Gujerat. The reason for this aggressive act is partially traceable to the rumour of Hoshang Shah's sudden disappearance, and the partition of the kingdom among his nobles. Ahmed Shah was, however, unable to make any impression on the strong fort of Mandu, which was

besieged for a month and a half, and contented himself with occupying the surrounding country, and marching through Ujjain towards Sarangpur. Hoshang Shah, reaching Sarangpur before him, sent a conciliatory message to Ahmed Shah, who consequently neglected to take the military precautions necessary in a hostile country. In a night attack on the Gujerat camp, 826 A.H. (= 1422 A.D.), the Malwa king was successful, but was himself defeated in turn by the Gujeratis next morning. Ahmed Shah then began his retreat towards Gujerat, but was so harassed by the attacks of Hoshang Shah, who had rallied his disordered troops, that he resolved to give him battle, which resulted in the total defeat of the Malwa army, and the capture of all their elephants. In 832 A.H. (= 1428 A.D.), Ahmed Shah I, the Bahmani king of the Deccan, attacked the frontier fortress of Kherla with a large force. Hoshang Shah marched to its assistance. The Bahmani army retreated, but was pursued by Hoshang Shah, who however fell into a skilfully laid ambush, and was signally defeated, leaving the ladies of his family, as well as his heavy baggage, in the hands of the enemy. The Bahmani king chivalrously sent the ladies back to Mandu with an escort of cavalry. In 835 A.H. (= 1431 A.D.), Hoshang Shah made an expedition to capture Kalpi, then in charge of Abdul Kadir, an officer of the Delhi Emperor. Ibrahim Shah of Jaunpur was advancing for a similar purpose. The Jaunpur and Malwa armies were in sight, and about to engage, when Ibrahim Shah was suddenly recalled to defend his capital from Mubarik Shah, Emperor of Delhi, leaving Hoshang Shah free to devote his attention to Kalpi, which soon after surrendered. About this time Hoshang Shah, coming to be afflicted with a dangerous disease,

formally proclaimed his eldest son, Ghazni Khan, as his successor, and made Mahmud Khan, whose ambitious views were no secret, swear to support him. In view of the king's approaching end, intrigues dealing with the succession were rife at court. One party favoured Ghazni Khan, and another supported the cause of his younger brother Usman Khan, now in confinement in Mandu, while Mahmud astutely took advantage of these disputes to play for his own hand. Hoshang Shah died on the road to Mandu on September 7th, 1432 (836 A.H.). His eldest son Ghazni Khan was at once proclaimed king by Mahmud, after which the deceased monarch's remains were conveyed to Mandu, and buried in the noble mausoleum which is still to be seen there.

MUHAMMED I.

Ghazni Khan was crowned King of Malwa two days after his father's death with the title of Sultan Muhammed Ghorî. Business was transacted as usual by Malik Moghis and his son Mahmud. Muhammed soon proved himself a thoroughly depraved character without a single noble instinct. His jealousy of his brothers Usman and Ahmed prompted him to indulge in acts of fiendish cruelty. Several persons were put to death on the bare suspicion of favouring them, and he blinded his nephew and son-in-law, Nizam Khan, as well as the latter's three sons by his own daughter, for a similar reason. The only political event of importance in this reign was an incursion into Malwa by the Raja of Nandot, which was quickly repulsed by Malik Moghis. The king relinquished all interest in public business, which was left entirely in the hands of his minister, Mahmud, and

abandoned himself to drunkenness and debauchery. The nobles, dreading Mahmud's designs on the throne, sent secret messages to warn the king, who, instead of taking resolute measures, told Mahmud that he had heard of his intention to usurp the crown, and, leading him by the hand to the presence of his wife, the minister's sister, adjured him to at least spare his life. Though Mahmud disavowed any such disloyal motive, the king's doom from that hour was sealed, as the minister felt that, having been suspected of treason, there was no security for his own life except by his sovereign's death. One of the king's attendants was accordingly bribed to poison his wine, from the effects of which he died in 839 A.H. (= 1435 A.D.), after an inglorious reign of three years. On Muhammed's death the sceptre passed from the house of Ghori to that of Khilji.

KHILJI KINGS.

MAHMUD I.

An ineffective attempt was made by the late king's supporters to place his eldest son, Prince Masud, a boy of thirteen years of age, on the throne, but Mahmud had no difficulty in defeating it, whereupon the Prince's party took refuge in flight. Mahmud made a show of offering the crown to his father, Malik Moghis, who refused it. Mahmud I, the greatest of the kings of Malwa, was thirty-four years of age when he ascended the throne, under the title of Sultan Mahmud Khilji, in 839 A.H. (= 1435 A.D.). Most of the officers of the late king's court were confirmed in their appointments and estates. Malik Moghis was continued as Prime Minister, and he was also granted the privilege of the white

canopy and the silver quiver, distinctive marks of royalty. Shortly after Mahmud's succession a conspiracy was formed against him by Prince Ahmed, the youngest son of Hoshang Shah, and a number of discontented nobles who had remained unprovided for in the distribution of honours and estates. The conspirators' intention was to seize the person of the king, and to this end they got access to the courtyard of the palace by escalading a mosque which commanded it. Mahmud, aroused by the noise, attacked his assailants single-handed, and, with the assistance of his palace guards, who soon after joined him, quickly put them to flight. At the intercession of the king's father, Prince Ahmed was spared, and granted the estate of Islamabad. Mahmud soon had occasion to repent his magnanimity, as Prince Ahmed lost no time in assembling a force at Islamabad and raising the standard of rebellion. Taj Khan, *alias* Malik Barkhwardar, was sent to put down this revolt, but could make no impression on the fort of Islamabad. He accordingly asked for reinforcements, and Malik Moghis was despatched against the insurgents. The delay thus caused had given courage to the rebels, who were joined by Malik Ittibar of Hoshangabad, Nasrat Khan of Chanderi, and Kawam Khan of Bhilsa. Malik Moghis, or, as he was now known, Azim Humayun, despairing of the capture of Islamabad, bribed one of his servants to poison Prince Ahmed, whereupon the fort fell into his hands. The victorious minister then marched against the rebels at Hoshangabad, Chandausi, and Bhilsa, and deduced them without difficulty. On his return march to Mandu, 841 A.H. (= 1437 A.D.), he heard that Ahmed Shah, King of Gujerat, having espoused the cause of Prince Masud, was advancing on the capital with a large

force. By rapid marches Malik Moghis reached Mandu before the Gujerat army, which shortly after closely invested the fort. A fierce sortie of the besieged was unsuccessful, as information of the attack was conveyed to the Gujerat leader by Nasrat Khan, the displaced Governor of Chanderi. Mahmud gained over many of the faction of Prince Masud, and courted the popularity of the poorer classes by the free distribution of corn. Prince Umar, the younger son of Muhammed I of Malwa, now appeared at the head of a force at Chanderi, which opened its gates to him. The King of Gujerat on hearing this despatched his son Muhammed Khan with a force of 5,000 cavalry and 30 elephants to Sarangpur to make a diversion in favour of the Prince, who was also joined by the Governor of that place. In 842 A.H. (= 1438 A.D.), the King of Malwa resolved to take the field in person, and marched towards Sarangpur. On the way he was attacked by Malik Haji of Gujerat, who was guarding the road to Kaithal, but overthrew him with ease. Muhammed Khan, on hearing of Mahmud's advance, fell back on Ujjain, where he was joined by his father's army. Malik Ishak, the Governor of Sarangpur, after soliciting his sovereign's pardon for his disloyalty, informed him of the junction of the two Gujerat armies, and of Prince Umar's advance with a force from Chanderi to seize Sarangpur. On the advice of Malik Ishak, who had been forgiven and loaded with honours, this important town was occupied by the royal forces. News was now received that Ahmed Shah with 30,000 cavalry and 300 elephants was in full march on Sarangpur, and that Prince Umar, after burning Bhilsa, was advancing in the same direction. Mahmud determined to attack Prince Umar, before he effected a junction with the

Gujerat army. In this measure he was signally successful. Prince Umar was defeated, taken prisoner, and beheaded. The remnant of his army fled to Chanderi, where Sulemán, a relation of Prince Umar, was placed on the throne, and saluted as king with the title of Sultan Shahab ud Din. The King of Malwa next proceeded to attack Ahmed Shah. The enemy, however, was obliged to retreat to Gujerat owing to an outbreak of pestilence, which left Mahmud free to devote his attention to the reduction of Chanderi. Suleman, unable to meet Mahmud in the field, retired to the fort of Chanderi, where he soon after died suddenly. The Chanderi rebels, however, set up another pretender, and persisted in resistance. The siege lasted eight months, when Mahmud, becoming impatient, took the fort by escalade. The king's next expedition was in the direction of Gwalior, the territory of which he laid waste. Dungar Singh, the Raja of Gwalior, had besieged Narwar; and the object of Mahmud's raid into Gwalior, which was to relieve this town, having been successfully accomplished, he returned to Mandu. In 843 A.H. (= 1439 A.D.), the king built the magnificent mosque near the Rampura gate at Mandu, the remains of which are still to be seen, in memory of Sultan Hoshang Shah. In 844 A.H. (= 1440 A.D.), took place Mahmud's operations against the feeble Emperor of Delhi, Muhammed bin Farid. The Delhi nobles offered overtures with Sultan Mahmud to seize the Imperial throne, and the latter, accepting the tempting offer, marched with a large army to the capital. The Delhi army was commanded by the Emperor's son, the advance-guard of archers being under the leadership of Bahlol Lodi. Sultan Mahmud, considering it derogatory to his dignity to command his army in person

under these circumstances, placed it under the orders of his two sons, Ghyas ud Din and Fidwi. The fight raged all day without any decisive result on either side. Next day an accommodation was arranged, and Sultan Mahmud retreated to Malwa, which he reached in 845 A.H. (= 1441 A.D.). An insurrection at Mandu, which was only quelled by the timely exertions of Malik Moghis, is said to have been the real cause of Sultan Mahmud's hasty retreat to Malwa, while the Delhi Emperor was anxious to make peace on any terms. According to the *Turikh i Alfi* this expedition of Malwa against Delhi took place earlier in his reign, about 841 A.H., Mahmud's hasty retreat being attributed to the sudden invasion of Malwa by a Gujerat army. After resting his army Sultan Mahmud crushed Nasir Khan of Kalpi, who had proclaimed his independence. He next directed his arms against Rana Kumbho of Chitor, and, capturing Kumbal Mir and the lower fort of Chitor, compelled the Rana to seek refuge in flight. During this expedition the Sultan's father Malik Moghis died, and Taj Khan was appointed to command the army in his place. In 846 A.H. (= 1442 A.D.), the Rana made a night attack on the Sultan's camp before Chitor, which was beaten off with severe loss to the Rajputs. On the following night the Rajput camp was in turn successfully attacked by the Malwa force, and the Rana driven to shut himself up in the upper fort. The advent of the rainy season compelled ^{with an} Mahmud to raise the siege of Chitor for the time, ⁱⁿ he accordingly returned to Mandu. In 847 A.H. (= 1443 ^{Ne} A.D.), an embassy arrived at Mandu from Mahmud, ^{va}ing of Jaunpur, with rich presents, informing him of the heretical leanings of Nasir Khan, the Governor of Kalpi, and requesting permission to punish the apostate, if he

had not time to do it himself. This permission was readily granted, and Nasir Khan was in due course expelled from Kalpi by a Jaunpur force. Nasir Khan fled to Chanderi, and thence despatched a message to his sovereign imploring his assistance to recover Kalpi. Sultan Mahmud accordingly sent an embassy to the Jaunpur king, requesting him to reinstate Nasir Khan, who had now returned to the right path, but Mahmud Shah failed to send any direct reply to this communication. Sultan Mahmud, incensed at this indignity, set his army in motion towards Chanderi, where he was met by Nasir Khan. He then continued his march to Kalpi, whither he was followed by Mahmud Shah of Jaunpur. A general action ensued, but the result was indecisive, though a detachment of the Malwa force had succeeded in cutting off the baggage train of the Jaunpur army. After this engagement Sultan Mahmud retired to Fatehabad. Other acts of hostility between the two kings followed, but the terms proposed by the Jaunpur king, which included the restoration of Nasir Khan, were ultimately accepted by Sultan Mahmud, and peace was declared in 849 A.H. (= 1445 A.D.). In 850 A.H. (= 1446 A.D.) the king again commenced operations against Rana Kumbho by laying siege to Mandalgarh. The Rana purchased peace by the payment of a large sum in jewels and cash, and Sultan Mahmud returned to his capital. He next reduced Muhammed Khan, the Governor of Bia to submission, captured the fort of Anandpur, and exacted a heavy contribution from the Rajas of Bundi and Mathura. In 854 A.H. (= 1450 A.D.), the king, at the solicitation of Raja Ganga Das, marched to relieve Champanir, which was closely invested by Muhammed Shah, the King of Gujerat. Muhammed Shah, on being

apprised of the approach of the Malwa army, destroyed his camp equipage and military stores, and retired to Ahmedabad. Champanir was relieved, and Sultan Mahmud, after receiving a valuable present in money and horses from the Raja as a reward for his services, returned to his capital. In 855 A.H. (= 1451 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud set out with a large force with the intention of conquering Gujerat, but the expedition proved an ignominious failure, and the Malwa army suffered its first real defeat during this reign. Sultanpur was first besieged, and captured. Malik Sohrab, its Governor, despairing of relief, surrendered to Mahmud, whose service he entered. He was nominated to the command of the Malwa army, with the title of Mubariz Khan. On the march to Gujerat news was received of the death of Mahmud Shah, and the accession of Kutub ud Din to the Gujerat throne. Sultan Mahmud sent the usual letter of condolence to the new King of Gujerat, but at the same time proceeded to lay waste his territories as far as Baroda, which he accomplished without opposition. The traitor, Malik Sohrab, took this opportunity to make his escape to his own master, the King of Gujerat. In 856 A.H. (= 1452 A.D.), a battle was fought at Kapparba between the armies of Gujerat and Malwa, ending in total defeat of the latter, which was chiefly due to the fact that Muzaffer Khan of Chanderi, who commanded the left wing, withdrew from the action after plundering the headquarter tents. This action disorganised the left wing, which fell back before the enemy. Sultan Mahmud, leaving the centre, of which he was in command, galloped with a small body of cavalry to assist the shattered left wing, but the party was cut off, and, on its return, the main body had been defeated. The King of Malwa, by

a desperate effort, however, had managed to reach the royal pavilion, and plundered it of some of the regalia, which were returned eighty-three years afterwards on the restoration of Mahmud II to his throne by Muzaffer Shah II of Gujerat.

In 857 A.H. (= 1453 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud made peace with the King of Gujerat, and entered into an offensive alliance with him against Rana Kumbho of Mewar. In 858 A.H. (= 1454 A.D.) the Sultan reduced the Rajputs of Kerauli, and placed his son, Prince Fidwi, in charge of the district, which included Rantambhor and Ajmir. Shortly after his return to Mandu, the Sultan, at the solicitation of certain disaffected nobles, marched against the fort of Mahur in Berar, which was under the dominion of the Bahmani King Ala ud Din. The latter advanced with a large force to oppose the Malwa army, which retreated. About this time the territory of the Raja of ~~Pag~~ Buglana, a tributary of Malwa, was invaded by Mubarik Khan of Khandesh. The Malwa army was accordingly again set in motion. The Khandesh chief was routed, and Buglana relieved. Sultan Mahmud next made an expedition in the direction of Chitor, as a result of which the Rana of Mewar submitted, acknowledged the suzerainty of Malwa, and paid a large indemnity. In 859 A.H. (= 1454 A.D.) the Sultan occupied the Rajput principality of Mandisor. In the same year he laid siege to the fort of Ajmir, which was stormed after severe fighting, in which Rana Gangadhar Rai was killed. Rana Kumbho of Mewar attacked the Malwa army near Mundalgarh on its retirement from Ajmir, and defeated it, the magnificent "Jai Kumbh," or pillar of victory, at Chitor, being built by him at a cost of nearly a million sterling to commemorate the event. In 861 A.H. (= 1456 A.D.) the

Sultan besieged and captured Mandalgarh, where the temples were demolished, and mosques erected out of their remains. In 862 A.H. (= 1457 A.D.), Prince Ghyas ud Din ravaged the country of the Bhils and Kols, while Prince Fidwi took the fort of Bundi by storm. In 863 A.H. (= 1458 A.D.), Mahmud made an expedition against the Rai of Dungarpur, who submitted, and paid a large indemnity.

In 866 A.H. (= 1461 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud crossed the Nerbudda for the purpose of subduing the Deccan, to the sovereignty of which a boy of eight years, Nizam Shah, had succeeded, and marched within a short distance of Bidar, where a battle was fought. The Malwa army was defeated, and fled, but Mahmud rallied two thousand cavalry, and, waiting till the Deccanics were fully engaged in plundering the camp, attacked them in rear, and completely routed them. Bidar, the Deccan capital, was then besieged, but Malik ut Tujjar the Deccan general, having marched with a large force to raise the siege, Sultan Mahmud thought it advisable to retire to Mandu. In 870 A.H. (= 1465 A.D.), Kherla was captured by a Deccan force under Nizam ul Mulk Turk, but in the following year the Malwa general Makbul Khan, defeated the Deccanics, took Ellichpur, and reoccupied Kherla. Mahmud himself meanwhile was on the march to invade the Deccan, but, on reaching the Daulatabad frontier, news reached him that the King of Gujerat was advancing in his rear to assist the Deccan king, so he was obliged again to retire to Mandu. It was during this expedition that Sultan Mahmud was met by envoys from Mustanjid-billah Yusuf, the Caliph of Egypt, who presented him with a dress of honour, as a token of friendship, and a letter styling him the Defender

of the Faithful. In 871 A.H. (= 1466 A.D.) a peace was concluded between the sovereigns of Malwa and the Deccan. In the same year Sultan Mahmud caused the public accounts to be kept according to the lunar year. In 872 A.H. (= 1467 A.D.), Makbul Khan, the Governor of Kherla, after plundering the town, and making over the fort to the native Raja, fled for protection to the King of the Deccan. A massacre of Muhammedans in Kherla ensued, and the Raja of Kherla, being joined by the Gonds, took to robbing travellers. Taj Khan accordingly was despatched to reoccupy Kherla. The Raja was defeated, and obliged to fly, but was delivered up to the Malwa general by a Gond whose protection he had sought. After this success Sultan Mahmud received — Khwaja Jawal ud Din, an ambassador from the court of Abu Said, King of Bokhara, and sent him back laden with honours and presents. Ala ud Din was at the same time deputed to accompany him to Bokhara as envoy from the court of Malwa. In 873 A.H. (= 1468 A.D.), Sultan Mahmud undertook his last campaign, which was against the Zemindars of Kachwara, who had raided Malwa territory. After punishing them he built the fort of Jajpur on their frontier to hold them in check. During his march back to Mandu the king suffered severely from the excessive heat, and died on the road in the end of 873 A.H. (= 27 May, 1469), after a reign of thirty-four years and in the sixty-eighth year of his age. He had the reputation of being brave, just, and polished, and was held in high estimation by his contemporary sovereigns. Scarcely a year passed that he did not take the field, and he was generally successful in his military undertakings. Under his rule Malwa reached its highest prosperity as a kingdom, which extended to Gujerat on

the west, Bundelkhand on the east, Mewar and Harauti on the north, and the Satpura range on the south. A significant proof of the excellence of this sovereign's rule is shown in the fact that the kingdom suffered no diminution during the long reign of his indolent and dissipated successor.

GHYAS UD DIN.

Ghyas ud Din, Mahmud's eldest son, who ascended the throne on the death of his father, appointed his younger brother, Fidwi Khan, to the Governorship of Rantambhor. He nominated his own son, Abd ul Kadir, heir-apparent (Wali Ahd) under the title of Nasir ud Din, appointed him Prime Minister, gave him the insignia of the Royal Umbrella, and conferred on him the command of 12,000 horse. The king abandoned himself to a life of sensuale pleasure, and left all power in the hands of his son. His name became a proverb for luxury. None daredⁱⁿ intrude upon the Sultan with unpleasant news, which^{affiz} to be conveyed to him in a circuitous manner. He is^{nts,} to have possessed a seraglio of 15,000 women, includ^{D.)} his Amazon guard of 500 Turkis and 500 Abyssinian^{mal,} in spite of this he was very particular about his re^{twec,} observances, and was characterised by humani^{ssad,} justice. No rebellion among his subjects, nor in^{o g,} of Malwa territory by an enemy, occurred in thi^{gn} until 887 A.H. (= 1482 A.D.), when Rantambh^S was attacked by Bahlol Lodi, Emperor of Delhi, and^{to} Malpur was destroyed. Ghyas ud Din despatched Sher Khan, Governor of Chanderi, to resist the invasion, and he was so successful that Bahlol Lodi not only returned to Delhi, but paid him a sum of money to induce him to

refrain from molesting his country. In the same year, 887 A.H. (= 1482 A.D.), Kawal Patai, the Raja of Champanir, sent a message to Ghyas ud Din to beg his assistance against Sultan Mahmud of Gujerat, who had invested his fort. Ghyas ud Din agreed, and put his army in motion. On hearing this, Sultan Mahmud, leaving the conduct of the siege to his general, advanced towards Mandu, upon which Ghyas ud Din got a *fatwa* from his Kazis that it was unlawful for one Muhammedan king to help an infidel against another, and returned to Mandu. In 903 A.H. (= 1497 A.D.), towards the close of his life, the king was disturbed by intrigues between Shuja'at Khan, his youngest son, and the heir-apparent. Shuja'at Khan entered into a conspiracy with the Rani Khurshed, one of the royal mistresses, to poison the king's mind against his elder brother, who was obliged in consequence to fly from the capital (905 A.H. = 1499 A.D.). Thereupon Shuja'at Khan, in concert with the Rani, but without the king's knowledge, raised a force, and attacked his brother, but was defeated, and pursued to the fort of Mandu, which was surrendered to Nasir ud Din after a few days' siege (906 A.H. = 1500 A.D.). Shuja'at Khan died out to death with all his family, and Nasir ud Din, who assumed the reins of government, was formally crowned, with the consent of his father, who however was found dead in his seraglio a few days after, the result it was supposed, of poison administered by his son, though there was not much foundation for this rumour.

Ghyas ud Din had reigned for thirty-three years, but there can be little reason to doubt that his power was never anything but nominal, and that in his closing years, at least, his mind was affected.

NASIR UD DIN.

Nasir ud Din ascended the throne in 906 A.H. (= October, 1500 A.D.). His accession was disturbed by domestic feuds, and public affairs fell into disorder. The contemplated invasion of his kingdom by the King of Gujerat was abandoned owing to his conciliatory attitude. Sher Khan of Chanderi, who was joined by Muhabbat Khan of Mandsor and other malcontent nobles, rebelled, and advanced towards the capital. The king marched to meet him, and forced him to battle near Sarangpur, which resulted in his total defeat. Shortly after this Sher Khan again took up arms at the solicitation of the people of Chanderi. The king despatched a force against him under Ikbal Khan, who attacked him near Chanderi. Sher Khan was again defeated, and died of wounds received in the battle. The king subsequently caused his body to be exhumed, and hung up on the gallows of Chanderi. On Nasir ud Din's return to the capital he gave himself up to shameless excesses and fiercer cruelty, and put to death all the adherents of his brother he could lay his hands on. In 908 A.H. (= A.D.) the king marched to attack the Rajputs of Kwarra, whose territory he ravaged. In the following year, 909 A.H. (= 1503 A.D.), he proceeded to Chitor, where he extorted a large present of money from the Ruler, as well as a Rajput lady of high rank for his harem. On his way back he was informed that Ahmed Nizami Shah had marched to reduce the province of Khandesh, and had forced its ruler, Daud Khan, to shut himself up in the fort of Asir. As the ruler of Khandesh owed allegiance to the King of Malwa, the latter sent Ikbal Khan with a large force to his assistance, on the approach

of which Ahmed Nizam Shah retreated to Ahmednagar. Prayers having been read at Burhanpur in the name of Nasir ud Din, the troops returned to Mandu. Towards the close of his reign the king was filled with jealous fear of his sons' designs against him. Shahab ud Din, the declared heir-apparent, feeling that his life was in peril, was at last persuaded by the malcontent nobles, who were wearied of the king's licentiousness and cruelty, to assume the government, 916 A.H. (= 1510 A.D.). He accordingly left Mandu, and collected a considerable force, but was defeated by the royal army. He fled towards Delhi, and refused to return in spite of his father's remonstrances. On the return of Nasir ud Din towards Mandu after his successful campaign, he was seized at Bhurtpur with a fever, which proved fatal. Nasir ud Din died after a reign of a little over eleven years, having previously designated his second son Mahmud as his successor.

MAHMUD II.

On hearing of his father's death Shahab ud Din fled to Mandu, but was refused admittance by the governor, Muhafiz Khan. Mahmud meanwhile hurried back to the capital from Nalcha, and was formally crowned there with great pomp, 916 A.H. = (1510 A.D.). It is said that as many as 700 elephants marched in the coronation procession. Shahab ud Din, on his brother's approach, had fled to Asir. Shortly after his accession a conspiracy was formed against the king's favourites, of whom Balwant Rao was murdered, and Nizam ul Mulk banished. The king next incurred the hostility of Muhafiz Khan, who had used disrespectful language towards him in Darbar, and advised him to order the execution of his

elder brother Sahib Khan, a prisoner in the Mandu fort. Mahmud, incensed at the gross insubordination of Muhafiz Khan, wounded him with his sword. Muhafiz Khan thereupon collected his retainers, and attacked the palace, but was repulsed by the royal guards. The king, failing to raise a sufficient force, escaped from Mandu, upon which Sahib Khan was immediately released, and proclaimed king by Muhafiz Khan. Mahmud, having called upon all loyal vassals to rally round his standard, was soon joined by Medni Rai, a Rajput, Shirza Khan, Governor of Chanderi, and other nobles, and marched on the capital. A battle was fought outside Mandu, which, chiefly owing to the gallantry of Medni Rai and his Rajputs, was declared in Mahmud's favour. Sahib Khan fled to the Mandu fort, which was closely invested. Sahib Khan rejected the king's overtures for an accommodation, by which he was to receive a stipulated annuity if he relinquished all claims to the throne. Mahmud, accordingly, bribed some of the nobles within the fort to admit him, and Sahib Khan and Muhafiz Khan, having discovered the treachery of their adherents, made their escape to Gujerat (917 A.H. = 1511 A.D.). Sahib Khan was at first well received by Muzaffer Shah II, King of Gujerat, but a fracas having arisen between his followers and those of Mirza Ibrahim, Ambassador of Shah Ismail of Persia, he thought it advisable to quit Gujerat, and proceeded, *via* Asir and Burhanpur, to Berar, where he was assigned an estate by Murad Shah. Nasir ud Din's eldest son, Shahab ud Din, who had taken refuge with the ruler of Khandesh, had meanwhile died of fever, while on the march towards Mandu for the purpose of bringing forward his claim to the throne. His son, Makhsus Khan, was at once proclaimed

king under the title of Sultan Hoshang II, by his father's faithful adherent, Ikbāl Khan. Finding, on their arrival at Mandu, that Mahmud's power was firmly established, they threw themselves on his mercy. Shortly afterwards, however, at the instigation of his minister, Medni Rai, Ikbāl Khan was executed. This arbitrary act, and the growing influence of Medni Rai, so alarmed the nobles that they began to conspire against the king. Buhjat Khan of Chanderi and others sent a message to Sahib Khan, who had, in the meanwhile, sought an asylum in Delhi, inviting him to return and assume the reins of government. They at the same time addressed a letter to Sikandar Lodi, the Delhi Emperor, and solicited his assistance on behalf of Sahib Khan, as Malwa, they declared, was no longer a Muhammedan province, being under the sway of Medni Rai and his Rajput minions. A force of 12,000 cavalry was accordingly despatched from Delhi to Sahib Khan's aid under Imad ul Mulk Lodi, who was accompanied by the prince's old adherent, Muhafiz Khan. Mahmud at this juncture seemed beset with misfortunes, as not only was Sahib Khan in revolt with a Delhi force at his back, but Muzaffer Shah II, King of Gujerat, with a large army, had invaded Malwa, and penetrated to the vicinity of Mandu, while Sikandar Khan of Bhilsa had also broken into rebellion, and Prince Makhsus and his party had joined the enemy. Muzaffer Shah was first attacked, and compelled to retreat to Gujerat, 919 A.H. (= 1513 A.D.). This potentate does not seem to have been much disposed for active interference in Malwa affairs, and indeed according to the *Mirat i Sikandari* he withdrew his army without coming in contact with Mahmud's force. The author of the *Tabakat i Nasiri* says that Muzaffer

Shah's departure was the result of a letter of remonstrance addressed to him by Mahmud, who reproached him for taking advantage of his misfortunes to attack him. Malik Zadah, however, who had been despatched to reduce Sikandar Khan to submission, was defeated and slain. The Machiavellian diplomacy of the minister Medni Rai triumphed over the powerful confederacy formed against the king. At his instigation Imad ul Mulk tried to persuade the Chanderi chief, Buhjat Khan, to coin money, and read prayers in the Delhi Emperor's name. Buhjat Khan, however, spurned the idea of disloyalty to Sahib Khan, and made an excuse for holding aloof from the Lodi army, which shortly after was recalled to Delhi. Sikandar Lodi, on hearing that the King of Malwa was on the march with a large army to oppose his small force, ordered it to fall back on Delhi. Meanwhile Sahib Khan, who had assumed the title of Sultan Muhammed II, 921 A.H. (= 1515 A.D.), had despatched Muhafiz Khan by a circuitous route to invest Mandu. This force was opposed, and defeated by Habib Khan with a body of Rajputs near Nalcha, and in the encounter Muhafiz Khan was slain. Sahib Khan and Buhjat Khan, being now in desperate straits, made overtures for peace, which resulted in the cession to the former of the districts of Raisin, Bhilsa, and Dhamong, for his support. Sahib Khan was also given ten lakhs of tankas and twelve elephants by the king. The subsequent history of this rebel is wrapped in obscurity, but we know that he died during the reign of Ibrahim Lodi (923-932 A.H. = 1517-1525 A.D.), who, taking advantage of his death, obtained possession of the person of his heir Ahmed Shah, and placed a dependant of his own in charge of Chanderi, from whence it passed in

later days, by Rana Sanka's gift, to Medni Rai. The copper coin No. 321 in Thomas's *Pathan Kings of Delhi*, which follows the Malwa square type of currency, is supposed to commemorate this fraudulent acquisition of Chanderi by Ibrahim Lodi. The minister, Medni Rai, who was now the *de facto* ruler of the State, spared no efforts to oust all Muhammedans from State offices, and fill them with Rajputs. Even the guards at the gates were all Hindus. Many of the old Muhammedan nobles were executed without cause, their houses plundered, and their estates confiscated. This intolerable state of things created great discontent among the Muhammedan chiefs, and induced Ghalib Khan, the Governor of Mandu, to refuse admittance to the king on his return from a hunting expedition. Though this particular conspiracy was not successful, it foreshadowed the end. After this incident Medni Rai removed all Muhammedans from public offices, except a few personal servants of the king. The king himself now became alarmed at the ascendancy of the Hindus, and directed his minister to disband the whole of the Rajput army, but such a drastic measure was of course out of the question. A temporary compromise was then effected by which all personal offices of the State were to be filled by Muhammedans, all former Muhammedan officers to be restored to their posts, and all Muhammedan women released from Rajput seraglios. It was clear, however, that the state of tension that now existed between the king and his minister could not last long. The king, provoked by the insults of Salivahan, a Rajput henchman of Medni Rai, ordered his personal guard to waylay and murder both. The former was slain, and the latter severely wounded. The Rajputs, on hearing of this incident, proceeded to attack the palace,

but were repulsed by the king with a handful of attendants. Medni Rai, who was too astute to break altogether with his sovereign, ordered his retainers back to their quarters, and made his peace with the king. The minster, however, distrusting the king's intentions, never went to the palace without an escort of 500 armed men, and this measure so greatly disturbed Mahmud's mind that one night he left the fort of Mandu with a faithful Rajput attendant, Kishna, and his favourite wife, and never drew rein till he reached the frontier of Gujerat, where he was cordially received by the king, Muzaffer Shah II. It should be explained that the above is Ferishtah's account of this episode in Mahmud's reign, and there is reason to believe that it is to some extent partial. The misfortunes which fell to Mahmud's lot at this period were not altogether due to Rajput treachery and family discords, which were no doubt encouraged by the Lodi Emperors in Delhi. They must, in part at any rate, be attributed to the valour and ability of Rana Sanka of Chitor, at this period the acknowledged chief of the Rajputs, who gained many victories over Mahmud, and wrested from him, according to Baber, the provinces of Sarangpur, Chanderi, Bhilsa, and Rathgarh.

The Gujerat king readily consented to assist Mahmud to regain his throne, and in 923 A.H. (= 1517 A.D.) they both set out for Malwa at the head of a Gujerat army. Medni Rai, having left his son Rai Pithora, or the Rai Raian, with a considerable force, to defend Mandu, proceeded to Chitor to seek the aid of Rana Sanka. Dhar opened its gates to the two kings, who then advanced on Mandu. After a siege of two and a half months' duration, the fort fell by assault, in which 19,000 Rajputs are said

to have been slain, 924 A.H. (= 1518 A.D.). Muzafter Shah, having restored Mahmud to his throne, returned to Gujerat, leaving an auxiliary force of 3,000 cavalry under Asaf Khan for duty at Mandu. Bhilsa, Raisin, Sarangpur, Chanderi, and Gagrone being still in possession of the Rajputs, the king took the field to reduce them and advanced to Gagrone, where he was opposed by Medni Rai and his ally, the Rana Sanka, 925 A.H. (= 1519 A.D.). The sanguinary defeat of the Malwa army, which followed, was mainly due to the impetuosity of Mahmud, who, in spite of Asaf Khan's remonstrances, insisted on bringing on an action before his troops were rested and fed. After performing prodigies of valour, and being several times wounded, Mahmud at last fell into the hands of Rana Sanka, who showed him every mark of attention, and conveyed him to Chitor, where he was detained until he was cured of his wounds. The Rana then chivalrously furnished him with an escort, and sent him back to Mandu, where he assumed the reins of government. In the battle of Gagrone the golden girdle and jewelled crown of Mahmud II fell into the victor's hands. They formed subsequently (940 A.H. = 1533 A.D.) part of an indemnity paid by the Rana's grandson, Vikramajit, to Bahadur Shah of Gujerat. During this period of disorder many of the Malwa chiefs, such as Sikandar Khan at Sivas, Medni Rai at Chanderi, and Silhaddi of Bhilsa, had declared their independence, and appropriated the revenues of their respective districts, while a not inconsiderable portion of the kingdom had been appropriated by the Raja of Chitor, so that the finances of the State were reduced to a very low ebb. In 926 A.H. (= 1519 A.D.) Mahmud marched against Sarangpur, which was held by Silhaddi, but he miscalculated

his strength, and was defeated. While, however, the enemy were engaged in plunder, he rallied a few troops, and, charging the Rajputs, gained possession of Sarangpur. After this exploit Mahmud returned to Mandu, where he appears to have passed a peaceful existence till 932 A.H. (= 1525 A.D.), when his interference in the affairs of Gujerat led to his ruin, and the extinction of his dynasty. In that year the King of Gujerat, Muzaffer Shah II, having died, the succession devolved on Bahadur Shah, whose younger brother, Chand Khan, sought refuge at Mandu, where he was kindly received by Mahmud. About the same time a Gujerat noble, named Kazi ul Mulk, arrived in Mandu from Delhi, whither he had gone to induce the Emperor Baber to espouse the cause of his master, Chand Khan. After a secret audience with this prince, Kazi ul Mulk returned to the Moghal court at Agra. Bahadur Shah remonstrated with Mahmud for his unfriendly act in giving countenance to these intrigues. Mahmud however paid no heed to these protests, and allowed a second interview between the prince and his envoy. Bahadur Shah accordingly determined to adopt measures for the overthrow of the Khilji dynasty. The time however was not yet ripe for the accomplishment of this purpose.

In 933 A.H. (= 1526 A.D.) the Emperor Baber had defeated Rana Sanka and the Hindu confederacy in the decisive battle of Kanwa. One of the Rana's most powerful allies in this battle was Medni Rai of Chanderi, against whom the Emperor turned his arms in the following year, 934 A.H. (= 1527 A.D.). After a short siege the fort was taken by storm, and all the defenders, including Medni Rai, were slain. Chanderi was then made over by the Emperor to Ahmed Shah, the son of

Sahib Khan (Muhammed II), whose cause he affected to espouse. Baber was prevented from following up his successes in Malwa by insurrections in the eastern provinces of his empire, which necessitated his immediate presence there. Sultan Mahmud, instead of taking steps at this juncture for the defence of his kingdom, menaced as it was by the sovereign of Gujerat, embroiled himself unnecessarily with the Rajputs. Rana Sanka having died about this time was succeeded by his son Rana Rattan. Mahmud without any provocation despatched Shuja' Khan with a force to ravage the district of Chitor. Rana Rattan, who was aware of the state of tension that existed between the rulers of Malwa and Gujerat, advanced to the frontier of the former kingdom. Mahmud marched to oppose him, and endeavoured to conciliate his quondam enemies, Silhaddi and Muin Khan, the adopted son of Sikandar Khan, but without avail, as they joined the forces of Rana Rattan. The ambassador of the Chitor Rana, with Bhupat, son of Silhaddi, and Muin Khan, waited on Sultan Bahadur, who was encamped in the neighbourhood, and complained to him that Sherza Khan, the Governor of Mandu, had plundered the country of their master, and that Mahmud was plotting the murder of Silhaddi and Muin Khan. The embassy was kindly received by Sultan Bahadur. On hearing of this circumstance Mahmud took alarm, and sent an envoy to Bahadur Shah asking permission to pay him his personal respects, and congratulate him on his accession to the throne. A favourable reply was returned, but Mahmud evaded the meeting, either through fear or from shame at his recent unfriendly conduct in connection with Chand Khan, and returned to Mandu, where he set about repairing the fortifications. Bahadur Shah, in-

censured at Mahmud's behaviour, marched at once on
 Bandu, which was closely invested. Deserters from
 Mahmud's army had joined him in great numbers *en
 route*, and Miran Muhammed, the ruler of Khandesh, also
 accompanied him. Mahmud with only 3,000 men
 defended the capital with heroic courage, but, on the night
 of the 26th February, 937 A.H. (= 1530 A.D.), Bahadur
 Shah, with a small forlorn hope, escalated the walls by the
 passage of Chitori, which, owing to its supposed impregna-
 bility, had been left unguarded, and thus got possession
 of the city. Chand Khan succeeded in escaping during
 the confusion, and made his way to the Deccan. Mahmud
 fled from his palace, and prepared to defend himself to
 the last, but it was at last compelled to surrender with all
 his family. Bahadur Shah was inclined at first to treat
 him leniently, and even to restore him to his kingdom,
 but, being unable to control his irritable temper,
 and Bahadur Shah grossly to his face on one occasion,
 after which he was ordered into confinement with his
 seven sons, he was sent to the fort of Champanir with an
 escort under Asaf Khan. On the way, at Dohad, the
 party were attacked by a large force of Bhils and Kols,
 and Asaf Khan, thinking that the attack had been made
 with the intention of rescuing the royal party, ordered
 the king and all his sons to be put to death. Mahmud II
 had reigned twenty-one years. Though deficient as a
 ruler, he was a man of dauntless bravery, and the
 misfortune that met his latter days enlist our sympathy.
 The House of Alji was now without any male repre-
 sentative, and Ahmed Shah, who was in the service
 of the Emperor of Baber.

GUJERAT SUPREMACY.

After the conquest of Malwa by Bahadur Shah, the kingdom was incorporated in the State of Gujerat, and partitioned into districts, which were assigned to various chiefs, Kalan Khan being appointed Faujdar of the province. Silhaddi, who was the first to join the conqueror's standard, obtained Ujjain, Sarangpur, and Raisin, but having given offence to Bahadur Shah by aspiring to independence, he was defeated and slain afterwards captured by a treacherous stratagem. The reduction of Ujjain, Sarangpur and Bhilsa followed. Meanwhile Bhopat, the son of Silhaddi, fled to Chitor, and entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Rana. Bahadur Shah, deputing Imad ul Mulk to meet Bhopat, marched himself to the front to oppose Lokman, the brother of Silhaddi. The Rajahs from Chitor under Bhopat and Rana Sangh were forced to retire before the Gujerat force, and Raisin eventually surrendered. In the final assault, Lokman and Silhaddi (who had meanwhile been released from confinement and deputed to negotiate with the invaders), with a hundred of their relations, fell victims to the "Jauhar" ceremony, in which 700 women perished. Alam Khan was put in charge of Bhilsa, Bhopat, and Chanderi. Bahadur Shah spent the next year in reducing recalcitrant chiefs to obedience, and restoring order in the province. Among the Gujerat nobles who obtained grants of districts at this time, was Mallu Khan, who afterwards ruled Malwa as Kadir Shah. He was made Governor of Sarangpur by Bahadur Shah. In 939 A.H. (= 1532 A.D.), after wresting Cagron from the Rana of Chitor, and deputing Imad ul Mulk to subdue

Rantambhor, Sultan Bahadur returned to Gujerat. In the same year Bahadur Shah sent an embassy to Humayun at Agra, which was well received. In 940 A.H. (= 1533 A.D.) he invaded Mewar, which was now ruled by Vikramajit, the son of Rama Rattan, and laid siege to Chitor. The Rana applied for assistance to Humayun, who made a diversion to Gwalior in his favour. Humayun at the same time sent repeated messages to Bahadur Shah demanding the abandonment of his enterprise against Chitor, and the surrender of all rebel refugees from the Imperial dominions, especially Muhammed Zaman Mirza, the Emperor's brother-in-law, and several Lodi Amirs. To these demands Bahadur Shah returned insolent replies, which so angered the Emperor that he determined on the reduction of Malwa and Gujerat. Meanwhile the siege of Chitor was pressed on with vigour, and at last the Rana was obliged to purchase the retirement of the Gujerat troops at a high price, including the crown and regalia of Kutub Shah, which Mahmud I, King of Malwa, had carried off in 856 A.H. (= 1452 A.D.) In 941 A.H. (= 1534 A.D.), Bahadur Shah, in pursuance of an arrangement with the rebel Lodi chiefs at his court, who supported the claim of Ala ud Din, the uncle of the late Sultan Ibrahim, to the Imperial throne, again laid siege with a large army to Chitor, where he would be at hand to assist the enterprise if required. Through a mistaken policy he failed to declare openly against Humayun, though he furnished the Lodi faction with large sums of money. Tatar Khan, the son of Ala ud Din Lodi, who had advanced towards Agra with a considerable body of troops, was defeated by the Imperial army under Hindal Mirza. Humayun's road to Malwa was now open, but he lingered at Ujjain until

with his master Bahadur. Through the good offices of his friend Imad ul Mulk, the Wazir of Sultan Mahmud III of Gujerat, Kadir Shah was granted the privilege of the Royal Umbrella, and the right of striking coins, so that, when that minister fled from Gujerat in 944 A.H. (= 1537 A.D.), he sought an asylum in Malwa. Daria Khan, the Sultan's Wazir, demanded his surrender from Kadir Shah, which the latter refused. Kadir Shah was at first threatened with invasion, but the distracted state of Gujerat at this time prevented this being done. Subsequently, in 950 A.H. (= 1543 A.D.), after Daria Khan's fall, Imad ul Mulk was allowed to return to Gujerat. Bhopat, son of Silhaddi, at this time reoccupied Raisin, but paid tribute for it to Kadir Shah. Shortly after his accession Kadir Shah received a firman from Sher Shah, then King of Bengal, stating that the Emperor Humayun was on the march to attack him, and requesting him to distract Humayun's attention by a movement towards Agra. Kadir Shah, incensed at this epistle, addressed Sher Shah in reply as an equal, an insult which that potentate never forgave.

SURI SUPREMACY.

In 949 A.H. (= 1542 A.D.), Sher Shah, the Emperor of Delhi, marched to the conquest of Malwa. Kadir Shah submitted, under the impression that he would be continued in the government of Malwa, but on learning from Sher Shah that he was nominated to the charge of Lucknow, he fled with his family to Gujerat. Shuja' Khan, a relative of Sher Shah, was then appointed Governor of Malwa. Kadir Shah made an attempt to regain his kingdom, but was defeated by Shuja' Khan, who succeeded in possessing himself of the whole country

of Malwa without any further fighting. After governing the country peacefully for some years an incident occurred which led to his temporary deposition. An Afghan, named Usman Khan, made himself obnoxious in the Darbar, and, on being remonstrated with by the royal servants, beat one of them severely. Shuja' Khan therefore had both his hands cut off. He took his complaint to the Emperor, Islam Shah, who told him he could exact his revenge in a short time from Shuja' Khan, who was about to visit the court. Accordingly, on Shuja' Khan's arrival, he was attacked in the city of Gwalior, and wounded by Usman Khan, who was immediately cut down by Shuja' Khan's attendants. The Emperor being much irritated at this occurrence, Shuja' Khan thought it wise to quit Gwalior and return to Malwa, which he did without taking leave. Islam Khan, thereupon, marched to Sarangpur to seize Shuja' Khan, who however refused to take up arms against the son of his old master, and fled to Banswara, when Isa Khan was appointed Governor in his place. Not long afterwards, however, the Emperor on his march towards Lahore reinstated Shuja' Khan in the government of Malwa. According to the *Tarikh i Alji* it was not till the reign of Islam Shah's successor, Muhammed Adil, that Shuja' Khan was restored to Malwa. Shuja' Khan now divided Malwa into several districts, of which he gave Ujjain to his second son, Daulat Khan, the favourite of the Emperor; Raisin and Bhilsa to his youngest son, Mustafa Khan; and to his eldest son, Bayazid Khan, Sivas and Hindia, while he retained himself the government of Sarangpur. In the period of anarchy which preceded the restoration of Humayun to the Empire of Delhi, Shuja' Khan meditated declaring

his independence, and coining money, but death cut him short before his purpose could be accomplished. He died in 962 A.H. (= 1554 A.D.), after a rule of twelve years.

BAZ BAHADUR'S RULE.

Shuja' Khan's eldest son, Bayazid Khan, under the title of Baz Bahadur, then assumed the government. His brother, Daulat Khan, having asserted a claim to a share in the kingdom, and obtained the support of the Sarangpur division of troops, Baz Bahadur thought it politic to temporise, and Ujjain and Mandu were accordingly ceded to him, while Mustafa Khan was left in possession of Raisin and Bhilsa. After this arrangement Baz Bahadur marched to Ujjain, on pretence of paying his brother a visit of condolence. Daulat Khan, unsuspecting of treachery, was murdered by Baz Bahadur, who had his head hung up on the gate of Sarangpur. Baz Bahadur then proceeded to bring the whole of Malwa under his rule, and was formally crowned Sultan in 963 A.H. (= 1555 A.D.). Baz Bahadur next turned his attention towards his younger brother, Mustafa Khan, who after sustaining several defeats, fled from Malwa, leaving Raisin and Bhilsa open to the occupation of his brother. A disastrous campaign against the Gonds succeeded, in which the Malwa army was almost annihilated. Baz Bahadur, stung with shame at this defeat, abandoned himself to dissipation and sensual ease. He was a great lover of music, which he cultivated with assiduity, and his attachment to Rupmani, a celebrated courtesan of that age, became so notorious that their loves have been handed down to posterity in song, and many stories are still told in Mandu of this romantic episode and its dramatic close.

MOGHAL SUPREMACY.

Akbar, the great Emperor, taking advantage of the distracted state of Malwa under Baz Bahadur, despatched an army under Adam Khan in 968 A.H. (= 1560 A.D.) for its conquest. Baz Bahadur heard nothing of the movements of this force until it had arrived within a short distance of the capital. Hastily collecting a few troops he advanced impetuously, though without order, to give battle. After displaying great gallantry his troops deserted him, and he was obliged to seek safety in flight, leaving Adam Khan free to occupy the country. Adam Khan, having heard on his arrival at Mandu of the beauty of Rupmani, was determined to take her into his harem. She gave him an assignation at her house, but he arrived only to find her dead. True to her old love, she preferred death to dishonour, and poisoned herself to avoid falling into the hands of her lover's conqueror. Adam Khan was soon after recalled, and Pir Muhammed was nominated Governor of Malwa in his place. In the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* it is related that Akbar was displeased with Adam Khan for keeping all the spoils of victory, including Sultan Bahadur's singing girls, in his own hands. The Emperor at this time thought it advisable to visit the conquered province in person, a journey which was accomplished in sixteen days. He had, in fact, arrived at Sarangpur before his general knew he had left Agra. In 969 A.H. (= 1561 A.D.), Pir Muhammed marched against Burhanpur, which he captured, the inhabitants being put to the sword. Baz Bahadur, who was in the neighbourhood, concerted measures with Tufal Khan, Regent of Berar, and Miran Mubarik Khan of Asir, for Pir Muhammed's overthrow. The confederates routed Pir Muhammed, who was drowned

in the pursuit, and drove the Moghal troops out of Malwa, whereupon Baz Bahadur was restored to his kingdom. He had hardly been seated on the throne, however, when Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, another of Akbar's officers, reoccupied Malwa, and compelled him to seek an asylum in the hills of Gondwara, 970 A.H. (=1562 A.D.). Baz Bahadur made occasional raids from these mountain fastnesses, and sometimes even secured temporary possession of small districts, but what he gained by force of arms he soon lost again owing to his habits of indolence and apathy. Growing tired at last of this guerilla warfare and wandering life, he in 978 A.H. (= 1570 A.D.) determined to surrender to the Emperor, who gave him a commission as commandant of two thousand cavalry, but he died not long after. After this Malwa remained a province of the Moghal Empire, until its conquest by the Mahrattas. In 972 A.H. (= 1564 A.D.), Akbar paid a second visit to Malwa, the Governor of which, Abdullah Khan, had given cause in his administration for the royal displeasure. This man rushed into rebellion, but was quickly crushed, and punished. In 1025 A.H. (= 1616 A.D.) the Emperor Jehangir visited Malwa, and gives a description of it in his *Memoirs*.

In the reign of Akbar (1594 A.D.), Malwa, "the Province of pleasant climate," consisted of 12 Sarkars and 301 Pergannahs, with an area of 42,66,221 Bighas, and a revenue of Rupees 60,17,376. The Sarkars of Malwa were Ujjain, Raisin, Kanauj, Chanderi, Sarangpur, Mandu, Hindia, Mandisor, Gagron, Kotri Paraya, Bijagarh, and Nandubar (Shahabad). The chief towns of the province were Ujjain (the new capital), Chanderi, Mandu (the old capital), and Dhar.

L. WHITE KING.

(To be continued.)

COINS OF THE NOMES OF EGYPT.—Signor Dattari of Cairo, who two years ago published a Catalogue of his unrivalled collection of *Numi Alexandrini*, is now engaged on a *Corpus* of the coins of the Nomes of Egypt. His own series has been enriched by upwards of a hundred pieces since his Catalogue appeared, and in order that the *Corpus* on which he is engaged may be as complete as possible, he appeals to all collectors and others interested in the coinage of the Nomes to communicate to him any pieces that appear to be as yet unpublished.

SOME COINS OF CARIA AND LYCIA.—

LYDAE (CARIA).

Obv. Forepart of lion to r.

Rev. Female head (Aphrodite) r., hair rolled, between
Λ Υ Traces of incuse square.

Æ. 12 mm. . Wt 1.62 grammes (25.0 grains).



The types of this coin at once recall the coins of Cnidus; but as there is no trace on either face of the letters ΚΝΙ which would fix it to that town, we are driven to suppose that the letters ΛΥ represent the name not of a magistrate, but of a mint; and it is reasonable to look for that mint not far from Cnidus. We shall perhaps not be rash in fixing on Lydae, the town found by Bent¹ on the promontory Ancon in the extreme S.E. corner of Caria. Practically nothing is known of the place except from the inscriptions found by Bent, which show that in Imperial times Lydae belonged to Lycia. This fact, however, does not concern the time to which the new coin belongs. In style it most resembles the coins of Cnidus of about 390 B.C.,² and in weight it would appear to be a half-drachm of the Rhodian standard. The resemblance in style between the coin of Lydae and those of Cnidus does not, of course, prove any political, but only a commercial, connection between the two cities.

¹ *J. H. S.*, ix., pp. 83 f.; x., pp. 50 f.

² *E.g.* Head, Brit. Mus. Cat., *Caria*, pl. xiv., 7.

NEAPOLIS AD HARPASUM (CARIA).

Obv. Head of Zeus r., bearded and laureate.

Rev. ΝΕΑΠΙ l.; ΟΛΙΤΩ r. Eagle, wings displayed, standing r., on thunderbolt.

Æ. 20 mm. Wt. 7·23 grammes (111·6 grains).

This coin was presented to the British Museum by the Hellenic Society in 1900, having been obtained by Mr. W. L. Paton in Caria. Like the bronze coin with the types: head of Zeus or Dionysos, and huntress Artemis, recently published by Imhoof-Blumer,³ it belongs to the earliest issues of the city, to which previously nothing earlier than the time of Gordian III had been assigned. This piece is certainly not later than the first century B.C. The types are of small interest, but it is worth noticing that the head of Zeus occurs at Harpasa, lower down the Harpasus, and the eagle on the thunderbolt is found at Plarasa, less than twenty miles east of Neapolis, which is represented by the modern *Ineboli*.

PROVINCE OF LYCIA.

Obv. ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ Head of the Emperor Claudius to l., bare.

Rev. ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΠΑΤΗΡ ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ View (in cross section) of a temple, approached by steps, with two columns; Victories as acroteria at sides (and summit of gable?); in pediment, eagle. Within the temple, cultus statue of a goddess, wearing long veil reaching to her feet; on the ground beside her, to left, circular object.

Æ. 30·5 mm. Wt. 15·80 grammes (243·9 grains).



³ *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, I., p. 147, no. 1.

This coin belongs to a small group of bronzes bearing the head and titles of the Emperor Claudius, and distinguished by various peculiarities of fabric and style (such as the treatment of the head, the elegance of the lettering) from most other provincial coins of the same period. Hitherto the local attribution of these coins has been a puzzle, but the reverse type of the specimen here published throws some light on the question. A comparison of the cultus-figure with that represented on the coins of Myra in Lycia⁴ leaves little doubt that we have before us the goddess of Myra; even the curious circular object which rests on the floor of the temple on the coins of Myra is not omitted here. The object has been described as a coiled serpent,⁵ and as a patera;⁶ but although it seems to be too regular in shape for the former, I am not satisfied that I was right in proposing the latter interpretation.

Numismatically, whatever the correct interpretation of this type may be, the chief interest of the coin lies in its enabling us to attribute to Lycia other coins of the same class. These all bear exactly the same inscription as the one described, and the same head of the Emperor Claudius, the specimens in the British Museum however differ in the fact that the inscription on the obverse is written "outwardly," as is the case on the reverses of all the specimens.

The following reverse types are known to me:—

Apollo, draped, standing to l., holding in his r. a branch (?);
in his l., bow.

30·5 mm. Wt. 15·23 grammes (235 grains).



⁴ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lycia*, p. lv., and pl. xv., 7, 8.

⁵ Greppo, *Rev. Num.*, 1849, p. 427.

⁶ Brit. Mus. Cat., *loc. cit.*

Warrior, mounted on horse galloping to r., wearing crested helmet, his chlamys flying behind him; in his l., shield, in his r., javelin. Behind him, pedestal, on which statue of the Emperor (?) in military dress, his r. resting on spear; in his l., patera (?).

23 mm. Wt. 7.27 grammes (112.2 grains).

Female figure, draped, standing to front, head r.; in r., bell-shaped object (cap of Liberty?); in l., short wand (?).

24.5 mm. Wt. 6.05 grammes (93.4 grains).

Of these types, the first is obviously suitable to Lycia, and is indeed found on the coinage of the Masicytes district during the existence of the Lycian league,⁷ as well as, in a more elaborate form, on the imperial coins of Patara.⁸

With the warrior type we may compare the type of Cyaneae,⁹ although there the statue is absent. The simple type is however so common that it can hardly be supposed to have any local significance.

The female figure, so far as I know, is not to be paralleled on the Lycian coinage. The details are poorly preserved; but the figure bears a considerable resemblance to one of the forms of Libertas on Roman coins;¹⁰ the short wand would then be the *vindicta*.

G. F. HILL.

⁷ Brit. Mus. Cat., *Lycia*, p. 66, nos. 26, 27, pl. xiv, 2.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pl. xvi., 2, 3.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. xii., 8.

¹⁰ *E.g.* Claudius, Cohen, 47 (without wand); Galba, Cohen, 107 foll., etc.

INDEX.

A.

- A and W, monogram of, on half-penny of Alfred, 350, 351
- Abydus, Troas, copper coin of, 331
- Adam Khan invades Malwa for Akbar, 397
- Adolphus I, Abp. of Cologne, denier of, in the Colchester hoard, 136
- Agrippa, M. Vipsanius, copper coin of, found in Southwark, 99
- Akbar, Moghal Emperor of Delhi, conquers Malwa, 397
- Alexander II of Scotland, pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 136
- Alfred, find of coins of, at Stamford, 347; new type of half-penny, 354
- American Colonies, Wood's patent for coinage for, 53; struck at French Change, Seven Dials, 54, 55; description of, 63 f.
- Amphitheatre, representation of, on coin of Caesarea Germanica, 330
- Ancyra, Galatia, coins of Caracalla of, 341, 343
- Andrew, W. J., his "Numismatic History of Henry I," review of, corrected, 99
- Aninetus, Lydia, copper coin of, 335
- Annulet coinage of Henry VI, 291; classification of, 302
- Annulet noble of Henry V, 293
- Antiochia ad Euphratem, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 106
- Antiochia, Pisidia, copper coin of, 339
- Antiochia, Syria, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 107, 109
- Arensberg, denier of, in the Colchester hoard, 136
- Ariaspes, son of Artaxerxes II, death of, 2
- Aristazanes commands in Egypt, 18
- Arkat, E. I. C. mint of, 73, 75, 78, coins of, 95
- Arsumes, son of Artaxerxes II, death of, 2
- Arsites, satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, his assistance to Perinthus, 23
- Artabazes, satrap of Phrygia, revolts, 4; allies with the Athenians, 5; receives help from the Thebans, *ib.*; leaves Phrygia for Greece, 6; invades Mysia, 22
- Artaxerxes II, history and death of, 1-3
- Artaxerxes III, history and coinage of, 1; accession, 3; invades Egypt, 4; invades Phoenicia, 13-15; attacks Sidon, 16; invades Egypt, 18-21; returns to Babylon, 22; builds palace at Persopolis, 24; his death, *ib.*; his courage, 25 f.
- Assus, Trous, copper coin of, 334
- Athenians assist Artabazes, 5
- Athens, tetradrachm of, 322; imperial copper coins of, 322-329
- Athos, Mount, daries found at, 29
- Attalia, Lydia, copper coin of Caracalla of, 336
- Attalia, Pamphylia, copper coin of Valerian I of, 339

B.

- "Baaltars" on coins of Tarsus, a place-name, 42
 Babelon, E., his classification of satrapal &c coinages criticized, 30 f
 Bagoas commands Greeks in Egypt, 19; garrisons Pelusium, 20; taken prisoner, 21; satrap of Upper Asia, *ib.*, poisons Artaxerxes III, 24; enters the Temple at Jerusalem, 25; coins attributed to, 32
 Bahadur Shah of Gujerat, coins of, struck for Malwa, 314; conquers Malwa, 388, 390
 Bambyce aft. Hieropolis, Cyrrhastica, copper coin of, 344
 Bath metal used for American colonial coinage, composition of, 53, 54
 Baz Bahadur, his rule in Malwa, 396; his restoration and death, 398
 Beaworth and Colchester finds contrasted, 111
 Belesys, satrap of Syria, attacks Phoenicia, 14; his rule, 40, coins attributed to, *ib.*
 Benares, E. I. C. mint of, 75, 76, 78; coins of, 87
 Bengal, E. I. C. mint of, 72-74; coins of, 90
 Beroea, Cyrrhastica, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 106
 Bithynia, copper coin of Titus of, 330
 Bombay, E. I. C. mint of, 73; coins of, 91
 Bristol, Warrant to William Wood to strike Irish coins at, 48, 55, 56
 British coins found at Sandy, Beds, 192
 British Museum, Greek coins acquired by, in 1902, 317
 Bubastis, surrender of, to Artaxerxes III, 20
 BURN, R. :—
 Mughal Mints in India, 194
 Buwayhid dynasty, coin of, 177; history of, 181 f.
 Byblos, coins of Mazaios, attributed to, 45
 Byzantine coins found on the premises of the Carpenters' Company, list of, 103

C.

- Caesarea Germanica, Bithynia, copper coin of Julia Domna, 330
 Calais mint, accounts of, during the reigns of Henry V and VI, 287; gold coins of, distinguished by the flag, 296; amount of gold coined at, during reign of Henry VI, *ib.*; quarter nobles of, 300, last issue of gold coins at, 304
 Calcutta, E. I. C. mint of, 73; history of, 75; coins of, 79
 Canterbury, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 119; moneyers of, 139, 157; history of mint, 162
 Caracalla, copper coin of, of Attalea, 336, of Ancyra, 341, 343
 Caria, coins of, 399
 Carlisle, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 122; moneyers of, 142; history of mint, 163
 Carpenters' Company, coins found on premises of, 102
 Chalcis, Chalcidice, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 107
 Chancton and Colchester finds contrasted, 111
 Chares, Athenian admiral, captures Lampsacus and Sigeion, 5
 Charles I, medalet of, type adopted for Irish coins, 62, unique half-crown of Exeter, 193
 Charles the Bald, half-denier of, found at Staniford, 350, 354
 Chichester, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard; 112, 122; moneyers of, 142; history of mint, 163
 Cisthene, Mysia, satrapal coin of, 11
 Claudius I, copper coin of, found in Southwark, 100; of Lycia, 400
 CMH = CM* (i.e. 900), mark of, on bronze coins of Nicomedia, 215, 219, 220, 222
 Coinage of Persian satraps struck for currency amongst the Greeks, 26, 27
 Colchester, find of short-cross pennies and other coins at, 111
 Cologne, deniers of, in the Colchester hoard, 136, 137
 Colophon, Ionia, satrapal coin of, 10
 Commagene, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 106

Constans I, his election as Caesar, 277, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 279 f

Constantine I (the Great), coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 218 f.

Constantine II, date of his birth, 241; coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 249 f.

"Constantinopolis" on coins of Constantine the Great, struck at Nicomedia, 279, 280

Constantius I, Chlorus, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 213

Constantius II, Caesar, first issue of coins of, at Nicomedia, 259; coins of, 262 f.

Corvey, Abbey of, denier, in the Colchester hoard, 136

Countermarks on sigloi, 28

COVERTON, J G, M A —
Two Coins relating to the Buwayhid and 'Okaylid Dynasties of Mesopotamia and Persia, 177
Malwa coins of Bahadur Shah of Gujerat, &c., 311

Crescent and star, type of, on Irish coins of John, 174

Crispus, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 247 f.

Cross and pellet coinage of Henry VI, 309

Cross mint-mark, form of, on coins of Henry V and VI, 289

Cross-pommée mint-mark on short-cross pennies, 158

Crump, U. G., citata in review of Andrew's *Numismatic History of Henry I*, 199

Cunobelinus, copper coin of, 192

Cyprus, revolts against Persia, 14; invaded by Idricus of Caria, 15; its coinage, 26, 28; struck by Evagoras II, 37-39, 43, 44

Cyrrhestica, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 106

Cyrrhus, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 106

D.

Danish imitations of coins of Alfred, 351 f.

Darics coined for circulation amongst the Greeks, 28, 29; their classification, 29 f.

Darius, son of Artaxerxes II, history of, 1; death, 2

Dattari, G, his *Corpus* of the coins of the nomes of Egypt, 399

Delmatius, his election as Caesar, 277, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 279, 280, 284

Deniers esterlins in the Colchester hoard, 112, 136, 175

De Saulles, George William, Chief Engraver to the Royal Mint, biography, 311; his works, 312

Dilawar Khan, Ghori King of Malwa, history of, 361

Dionysos, type of, on coin of Ancyra, 342

Dolche, Commagene, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 106

Domitian and Titus, copper coin of, struck at Laodicea Combusta, 340

Dortmund, deniers of, in the Colchester hoard, 137

Drapier's Letters of Dean Swift, 51

Dublin, pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 134

Durham, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 122; moneyers of, 143; history of mint, 163

E.

East India Company, coinage of, 71 f., distinguished from issues of Moghal and native princes, 72, 78; periods of, 72-74

Eccles and Colchester finds contrasted, 111, 112

Egypt invaded by Artaxerxes III, 18-21

Elagabalus, copper coin of, struck at Protianna, 340

Emisa, Syria, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 107

"Equus Romanus" on coins of Constantine the Great, 972

Etenna, Pisidia, copper coin of Otacilia Severa, 339

Euboea, uncertain coin of, 322

Evagoras II of Cyprus, invades the island, 15; his coinage struck for Sidon, 34; and for Cyprus, 37-39, 44

EVANS, SIR JOHN, K O.B.:—
His classification of the short-cross coinage confirmed, 113
Ancient British coins of Verulamium and Cunobelinus, 192

Exeter, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 123; moneyers of, 143, 157; history of the mint, 164; unique half-crown of, 193.

Eyres, Kingsmills, associated with Wood in his Irish coinage, 53

F

Fabriczy, Cornelius von, his *Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance*, noticed, 190

Fausta, first issue of coins of, at Nicomedia, 259; coins of, 266, 267

Faustina jun., copper coins of, struck at Hadrianopolis, Thrace, 320, at Nicomedia, Bithynia, 332

Ferukhabad, E. I. C. mint of, 75, 76, 78; coins of, 86

Finds of coins:—

Colchester, English, 111

Larnaca, Greek, 320

Sandy, British, 192

Stamford, Anglo-Saxon, 347

Five Burgs, the, 355

Flag on gold coins of Henry VI, &c., mark of Calais, 296

Fleur-de-lys mint-mark on coins of Henry VI, 289, 290, 294, 302; the symbol of York, 297

Follis, its value, weight, &c., 212 *et pass.*

Foreign deniers in the Colchester hoard, 112, 136, 175

Frederick II, Emperor, deniers of, • in the Colchester hoard, 137, 138

French Change, Seven Dials, Wood's American coins struck at, 54

G.

Galeria Valeria, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 222 f.; duration of issue, 223

Galerius, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 213 f.

Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer, their *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, referred to, 322-328

Gazur, Cappadocia, satrapal coins of, 43

Genius of the Roman people, cult of, 227

George I, Wood's Irish coinage of, described, 57 f.; his American coinage, 62 f.

Germanicia Caesarea, Commagene, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 106

Ghiyath Shah of Malwa. *See* Ghyas-ud-din, &c.

Ghori kings of Malwa, history of, 361

Ghyas-ud-din, Khulji king of Malwa, coin of, 316; history of, 377

Goldbeter, Bartholomew, master of the York mint, 297, 299

Gordian III, copper coin of, struck at Harpasa, 334

Gottfried II, Count of Arensburg, denier of, in the Colchester hoard, 136

Greek coins acquired by the British Museum, in 1902, 317

GRUBBER, H. A., F.S.A.:—

A Find of Silver Coins at Colchester, 111

A Find of Coins of Alfred at Stamford, 347

Gujerat, supremacy of, in Malwa, 390

H.

Hadrian, copper coin of, struck at Laertes, 341

Hadrianopolis, Thrace, copper coin of Faustina jun., 320

Halfdan, Danish leader, his London coin, 352

Halfpennies of Alfred, found at Stamford, 350; new type of, 354

Handy, Thomas, disclaimer respecting Wood's Irish coins, 52

Harold, —, engraves dies for Wood's American coins, 53

Harpasa, Caria, copper coin of Gordian III, 334

Helena, St., first issue of coins of, at Nicomedia, 261; coins of, 364

Henry I, coins of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 118

Henry II, period of short-cross coinage, 156

Henry III, period of short-cross coinage, 156

Henry VI, gold coinage of, 286

Hermias, Prince of Atarneus, death of, 22, 23

Hieropolis, Cyrrhestica, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 107, 109
 Hieropolis or Bambyce, Cyrrhestica, copper coin of, 344

HILL, G. F., M.A.:—

Roman Coins found in South-wark, 99

Medaillen der italienischen Renaissance, by Cornelius von Fabriczy, notice of, 190

Some coins of Caria and Lycia, 399

Holophernes, son of Ariamnes, of Cappadocia, commands in Egypt, 23, pacifies Palestine, 24.

Hoplite, figure of, on coins of Tarsus, explained, 9

Hoshang Shah, Ghori king of Malwa, history of, 362

HOWORTH, SIR HENRY H., K.C.I.E.:—

The History and Coinage of Artaxerxes III, his Satraps and Dependants, 1

Humayun, Pathan king of Delhi, conquers Malwa, 392

Hydrius, Caria, copper coin of, 335

I.

Ibrahim Lodi, Pathan king of Delhi, seizes Chanderi, 383

Idrieus, Prince of Caria, assists Artaxerxes III, 14; attacks Cyprus, 15

Islechester (?), short-cross penny of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 123; moneyer of, 144; history of mint, 164

Inad al Din Abu Kalinjar Marzban, Buwayhid ruler, coin of, 178

Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, their *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, referred to, 322-328

India, Moghal mints of, 194

Inscriptions, blundered, on Roman coins, 245

Io, nuptials of, represented on coin of Tralles, 338

Iolla, supposed coins of, 9

Ipswich, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 123; moneyers of, 144; history of mint, 165

Ireland, copper coinage of, by William Wood, 47 f.; struck at Phoenix Street, Seven Dials, 50, 55

Irish coins in the Colchester hoard, 112, 134, 173

Irish coins of John in the Colchester hoard, 134, crescent and star type, origin of, 174

Isle of Man, Wood's coinage for, 56

J.

John, Irish pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 134

John, periods of short-cross coinage of, 156

Johnson, C., errata in review of Andrew's *Numismatic History of Henry I*, 99

JOHNSTON, J. M. C.:—

Coinage of the East India Company, 71

Julia Domna, copper coin of, struck at Caesarea Germanica, 330

K.

Kadir Shah, ruler of Malwa, history of, 393

Kendal, Duchess of, receives patent for Irish copper money, 47

Khilji kings of Malwa, history of, 367

KI on Phocian obols, initials of Kirrha (?), 207

KING, L. WHITE, F.S.A.:—

History and Coinage of Malwa, 356

Kirrha (?), obols of, 205; initials of, on coins, 207

Klinias commands for Nectanebo and is slain, 19

L.

Lacrates, Theban general, assists Artaxerxes III in Egypt, 18; takes Polusium, 19, 20

Laertes, Cilicia, copper coin of Hadrian, 341

Lammas, —, engraves dies for Wood's American coins, 53

Lampsacus, capture of, by Chares, the Athenian, 5

Lampsacus, Mysia, coins of, struck by Orontes, 8, 9

LANGTON, NEVILLE —

Notes on some Phocian obols, 197

Laodicea Combusta, Lycaonia, copper coins of Titus and Domitian, 340

Larnaca, Cyprus, gold coins of Philip II of Macedon, found at, 320

Lenn or Lynn, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 124, moneyers of, 144, 157; history of mint, 165

Leucas, Coelo-Syria, copper coin of Trajan, 345

Lichfield, short-cross moneyer of, 144; history of mint, 166

Licinius I, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 222 f.

Licinius II, proclaimed Caesar, 240; coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 243 f.; proclaimed Augustus, 254

Lilaea, Phocis, obol of, 200

Limerick, pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 134

Lincoln, penny of Alfred of, 348; its Danish fabric, 351

Lincoln, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 124, moneyers of, 145, 157; history of mint, 166

Lippe, denier of, in the Colchester hoard, 137

London, mint accounts of, during the reigns of Henry V and VI, 287

London, monogram of, on coins of Alfred, origin of, 352

London, pennies of Alfred, found at Stamford, 348; their Danish fabric, 351

London, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 124; moneyers of, 146, 158; history of mint, 166

Lycia, coins of, 400

Lydae, Caria, coin of, 399

Lynn or Lenn. *See* Lenn, &c.

M.

MACDONALD, GEORGE, M.A. :—

Numeral Letters on Imperial Coins of Syria, 105

Madras, E. I. C.'s mint of, 73; coins of, 95

Mahmud I, Khilji king of Malwa, history of, 367

Mahmud II, Khilji king of Malwa, history of, 380

Malwa coins of Bahadur Shah of Gujerat, 314; of Ghyas-ud-din, 316

Malwa, history and coinage of, 356; rulers of, 359; supremacy in Gujerat, 390; Moghal supremacy over, 397; annexed by Akbar, 398

Man, Isle of, Wood's coinage for, 56

Marsland, —, associated with Wood in Irish coinage, 53

Martinianus, created Caesar and Augustus, 250; coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 253

Masulipatan, E. I. C.'s mint of, 75 coins of, 95

MAURICE, JULES :—

Classification Chronologique des Emissions Monétaires de l'Atelier de Nicomédie pendant la Période Constantinienne, 211

Maximinus Daza, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 213 f.; his treatment of Christians, 226; death, 229, 233

Mazaios, satrap of Cilicia, attacks Phoenicia, 14; succeeds Belesys in Syria, 40; his coinages, 41, 44, 45; his length of rule, 46.

Memnon, the Rhodian, flies to Greece, 6; is pardoned by Artaxerxes III, 22

Mentor, the Rhodian, 6; betrays Sidon, 17; commands in Egypt, 19, 20, 21; governs in Asia Minor, 21, 22

Mesopotamia and Persia, two coins of, 177

"Miliarense," earliest issue of, 276; its value, 277

Mint-marks, forms of, on coins of Henry V and VI, 289

Mints and moneyers of the short-cross coinage, list of, 139

Mints of short-cross coinage, history of, 159 f.

Moghal coinages distinguished from those of E. I. C., 72

Moghal mints in India, additions, 194

Moghal supremacy in Malwa, 397

Molossi, Epirus, silver coin of, 321

Moneyers and mints of the short-cross coinage, list of, 139

Moneyers, new names of, on short-cross coins, 157

Mount Athos. *See* Athos, Mount, & Mughal mints, &c *See* Moghal.

Muhafiz Khan, Governor of Mandu, 380-383

Muhammed I, Ghori king of Malwa, history of, 366

Muhammed II, of Malwa *See* Sahib Khan

Mullet, mark of, on coins of Henry VI, 302

Mumbai (Bombay), E. I. C.'s mint of, 73, coins of, 91

Munster, denier of, in the Colchester hoard, 137

Mushidabad, E. I. C.'s mint of, 75, 78; coins of, 80 f

Mu'tamid al Daulah, 'Okaylid ruler, coin of, 179

N.

Nasir ud Din, Khilji king of Malwa, history of, 379

Neapolis ad Harpasum, Caria, coin of, 400

Neapolis, Campania, didrachm of, 319

Nectanebo defends Egypt against the Persians, 19, flies to Ethiopia, 21

NELSON, PHILIP, M.D. —

'The Coinage of William Wood, 47
Nero, copper coins of, found in Southwark, 100

Newton, Sir Isaac, his report on Wood's coinage, 52

Nicomedia, Bithynia, coins of the Constantine period, 211 f.; copper coin of Faustina jun., 332

Nicostrates commands Greeks in Egypt, 18, 19

Nimbus on Roman coins, symbol of imperial power, 244, 269

Northampton, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 129; moneyers of, 149, 158; history of mint, 167

Norwich, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 129; moneyers of, 149; history of mint, 168.

Numeral letters on imperial coins of Syria, 105; first introduced at Antioch, 107; denote months, 110

"Nummus Centenionalis," issue of, 236, 278

O.

Ochus. *See* Artaxerxes III.

'Okaylid dynasty, coin of, 177; history of, 183 f

Orontes, satrap of Mysia, &c, history of, 6-8; strikes coins at Lampsacus, 8; at Teuthrania (?), 9; at Colophon, 10, at Cisthene, 11

Otacilia Severa, copper coin of, struck at Ettena, 339

Otophyxus, Macedonia, copper coin of, 319

Otto IV, Emperor, deniers of, in the Colchester hoard, 137

Oxford, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 130; moneyers of, 150, 158; history of mint, 168

P.

Pammenes, Theban general, assists Artaxerxes III, 5, 6

Pausanias, Numismatic Commentary on, by Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, referred to, 322-328

Pelusium attacked by Artaxerxes III, 18; surrenders, 20

Pergamon fortified by Orontes, 7

Perinthus attacked by Philip II of Macedon, 23

Persepolis, palace at, built by Artaxerxes III, 21

Persia and Mesopotamia, two coins of, 177

Perth, pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 135

Pherendates appointed satrap of Egypt, 22

Philip I, Abp. of Cologne, denier of, in the Colchester hoard, 136

Philip II, of Macedon, attacks Perinthus, 23

Philip III, of Macedon, gold stater of, 320

Phocian obols, notes on, 197

Phoenicia invaded by Artaxerxes III, 13-15

Phoenix Street, Seven Dials, Wood's coinages struck in, 50, 55

Phokion, of Athens, invades Cyprus, 15

Pieria and Seleucis, numeral letters on imperial coins, 107

PINCHES, JOHN H. —

George William de Saulles, Chief Engraver to the Royal Mint, 311

Pine-cone-mascle coinage of Henry VI, 304

Pine-cone-pellet coinage of Henry VI, 308

Pir Muhammed made Governor of Malwa, 397; death, 398

Pixodaros, dynast of Caria, coinage of, 26

Pnytagoras, king of Cyprus, 37; coinage of, 39

Prostanna, Pisidia, copper coin of Elagabalus, 340

Pylaemenes Euorgetes, king of Paphlagonia, copper coin of, 329

R.

Ransom, William, his coins of Verulamium and Cunobelinus, noticed, 192

RASHLEIGH, JONATHAN, M.A. —

Unique Half-Crown of Charles I, struck at Exeter, 193

Rhuddlan, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 133; moneyers of, 155, 158; history of mint, 172

Richard I, period of short-cross coinage, 156

Rochester, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 130; moneyers of, 151, 158; history of mint, 168

Roman imperial coins found on the premises of the Carpenters' Company, list of, 103

"Rosa Americana" coins struck by William Wood, 53, 56; described, 63 f.

Rosaces, satrap of Ionia, commands in Egypt, 18

Rosette-mascle coinage of Henry VI, 303

Roxburgh, pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 135, 136

S.

Sabina, copper coin of, struck at Tmolus, 337

Salah Khan (Muhammed II of Malwa) revolts against Mahmud II, 381, 382; assumes title of Muhammed II, 383

St. Denis, half-denier of, of Charles the Bald, found at Stamford, 350, 354

St. Edmundsbury, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 130; moneyers of, 151; history of mint, 169

Sandy, Beds., ancient British coins found at, 192

Satrapal coinages, currency of, 26, 27; classification of, 29 f.

Satrapas, coinage of, *temp.* Artaxerxes III, 1.

Saulles, George William de. *See* De Saulles, &c.

Scottish coins in the Colchester hoard, 112, 135, 171

Seleucia Pieria, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 107

Seleucis and Pieria, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 107

"Senatus" on coins of Constantine the Great, 272

Severus II, coins of, struck at Nicomedia, 213 f.

Sher Shah, Emperor of Delhi, conquers Malwa, 394

Short-cross pennies found at Colchester, 111; classification of, 113-117, 156; type of, 117

Shrewsbury, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 131; moneyers of, 151; history of mint, 170

Shuja' Khan, his rule in Malwa, 394

Sidon revolts against Persia, 13; taken and pillaged by Artaxerxes III, 16; coinage of, under Tennes, 33; under Evagoras II, 34; sigloi, &c., attributed to, 34-36

Sigcion, capture of, by Chares the Athenian, 5

Sigloi coined for circulation amongst the Greeks, 28, 29; countermarks on, 28; classification of, 29 f.; type of, 35; attributed to Sidon, 34-36

Southwark, Roman coins found in, 99

Stamford, find of coins of Alfred at, 347; one of the "Five Burgs," 355

Standbroke, —, engraves dies for Wood's American coinage, 53 —
 Star and Crescent on Irish coins of John, origin of type, 174
 Stephen, coins of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 118
 Sunderland, Earl of, grants patent for Irish coinage to the Duchess of Kendal, 47
 Surat, E. I. O's mint of, 74, 78; coins of, 93
 Suri supremacy in Malwa, 394
 Swift, Jonathan, Dean of St. Patrick's, and Wood's coinage, 51
 Syria, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 105

T.

Tarsus, supposed coins of, struck by Orontes, 9, coins of, with inscription "Baaltars"; 42, 341; of Mazaios attributed to, 44
 Tealby and Colchester finds, contrasted, 111
 Tennes, king of Sidon, defeats the Persians, 14; surrenders to Artaxerxes III, 15, 17; his death, 17; his coinage, 33
 Tenthrania, Mysia, supposed coins of, 9
 Thebans, assistance of, to Artabazes, 5
 Thessalian Confederacy, double victoriatus of, 321
 Tiribazus, conspiracy of, 1; death, 2
 Titus, copper coin of, struck in Bithynia, 330
 Titus and Domitian, copper coin of, struck at Laodicea Combusta, 340
 Tmolus, Lydia, copper coin of Sabina, 337
 Trajan, copper coin of, struck at Leucas, Coele-Syria, 345
 Tralles, Lydia, copper coin of Tranquillina, 337
 Tranquillina, copper coin of, struck at Tralles, 337
 Trefol coinage of Henry VI, 306
 "Tricennalia" of Constantine the Great, date of, 281
 Tutbury and Colchester finds contrasted, 112

U.

"Urbs Roma" on coins of Constantine the Great, struck at Nicomedia, 279-280

V

Valerian I, copper coin of, struck at Attalia, 339
 Verulamium, ancient British coin of, 192
 Vespasian, copper coins of, found in Southwark, 102
 "Vicennalia" of Constantine the Great, date of, 270, 272, 281, of his sons, 281, 284
 V (= VL) *Librae Valore*, mark of, on gold coins of Nicomedia, 216, 218, 220

W.

WALTERS, F. A., F.S.A.:—
 The Gold Coinage of the Reign of Henry VI, 286
 WEBB, PERCY H.:—
 Coins found on the premises of the Company of the Carpenters, 102
 Wilton, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 131; moneyers of, 152; history of mint, 170
 William the Lion, pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 135
 Winchester, short cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 131; moneyers of, 152, 158; history of mint, 171
 Wood, William, coinage of, 47; history of, *ib.*; strikes coins at Phoenix Street, Seven Dials, and at Bristol, 48; resigns patent for Irish coinage, 52, 55; patent to, for American coins, 53, 54; his death, 55; his Irish coinage described, 56; his American coinage described, 63
 Worcester, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 133; moneyers of, 153; history of mint, 171
 WROTH, WARWICK:—
 Greek coins acquired by the British Museum in 1902, 317

Y.

York, short-cross pennies of, in the Colchester hoard, 112, 133; moneyers of, 153, 158, history of mint, 172; its symbol, the fleur-de-lys, 297

Z.

Zeugma, Commagene, numeral letters on imperial coins of, 106, 108

END OF VOL. III.



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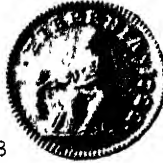
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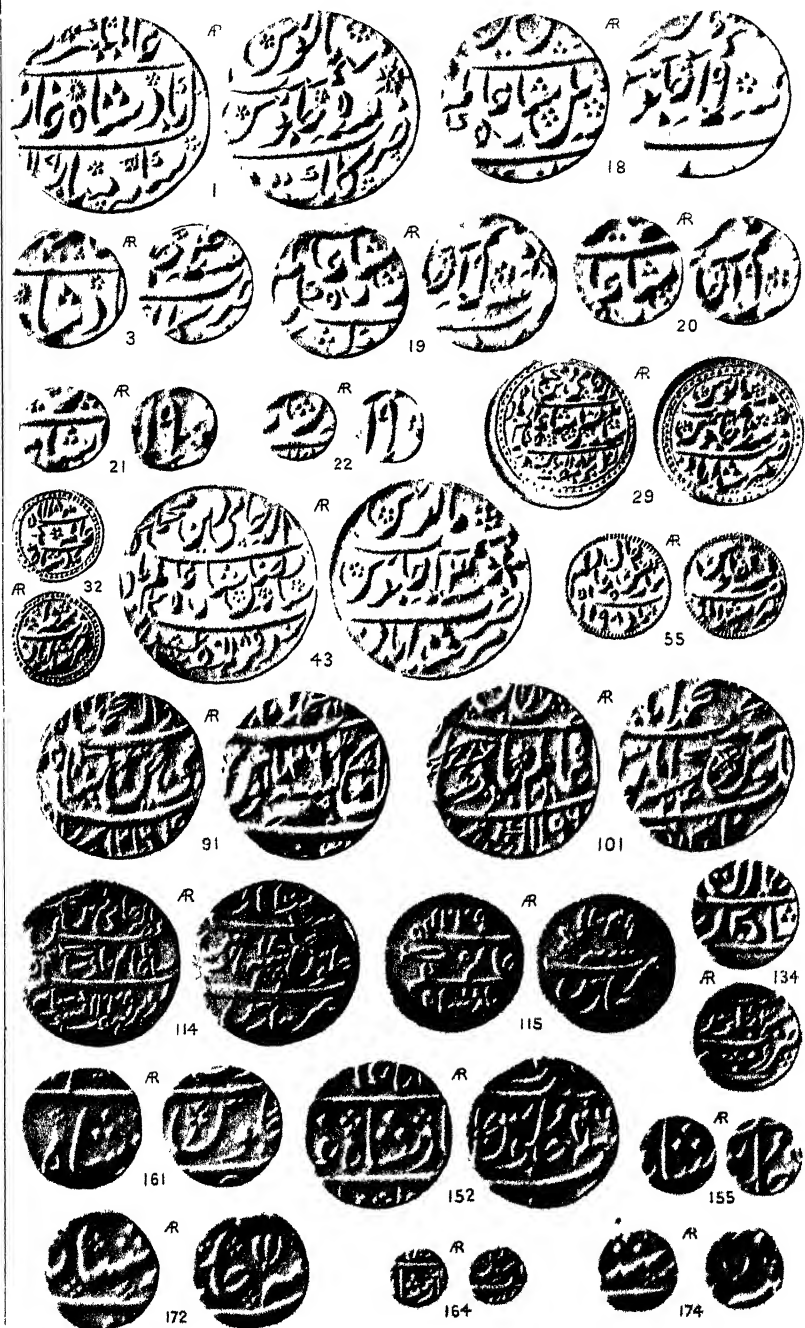
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WOOD'S IRISH COINAGE



AUTOTYPE

WOOD'S ROSA AMERICANA COINAGE





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CLASS I
(1180-1189)



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CLASS II.
(1189-1208)



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CLASS III.
(1208-1216)



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CLASS IV.
(1216-1222)



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CLASS V.
(1222-1248)





MONNAIES DE NICOMÉDIE



AUTYPE



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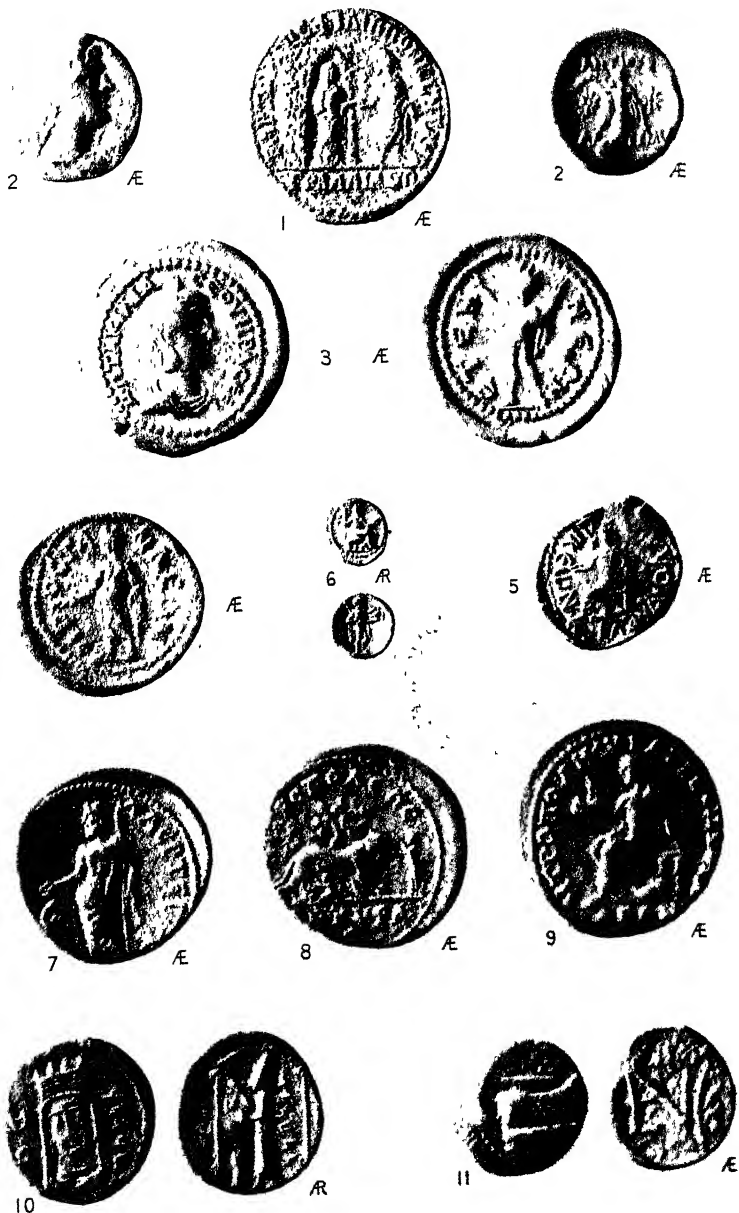
AUTOTYPE



GOLD COINAGE OF HENRY VI.







PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

SESSION 1902—1903.

OCTOBER 16, 1902.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The President proposed, and Sir Augustus Prevost seconded, a vote of condolence with the family of the late Mr. Alfred E. Copp, who for over twenty years had filled the office of Hon. Treasurer to the Society.

A. H. Baldwin, Esq., and Edward Charles Davey, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 226–230.

2. Foreningen til Norske Fortidsmindesmerkers Bevaring. Aarsberetning för 1901.

3. Académie royale de Belgique ; Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres, 1901 ; and Nos. 1–8, 1902.

4. A sketch catalogue of Australian copper tokens. *Revised edition.* By M. H. Long. From the Author.

5. Bulletin de Numismatique, Mars-Juillet, 1902.
 6. Bulletin international de Numismatique. Nos. 2-3.
 7. Una Medaglia d' Argento di Vincenzo Bellini. By L. Pasetti. From the Author.
 8. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxii. Pt. 1.
 9. Revue Belge de Numismatique. 3^{me} et 4^{me} livr., 1902.
 10. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 1^{er} trim., 1902.
 11. Revue Numismatique. 2^{me} trim., 1902.
 12. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. vi. Nos. 2 and 3.
 13. Archaeologia Cantiana. Vol. xxv.
 14. Thirty-second Annual Report of the Deputy Master of the Royal Mint, 1901.
 15. Proceedings of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, 1899-1901.
 16. Le piu antiche Monete di Napoli. By L. Correr. From the Author.
 17. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxxii. Pt. 2.
 18. Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the American Numismatic and Archaeological Society of New York, 1902.
 19. American Journal of Numismatics. April-June, 1902.
 20. Alcuni Acquisti del R. Gabinetto numismatico di Brera. By S. Ambrosoli. From the Author.
 21. La Gazette Numismatique. Mai-Juillet and Oct, 1902.
 22. Papers of the British School at Rome. Vol. i.
 23. Report on the Administration of the Government Museum, Madras, 1901-2.
 24. Dell' Affinità delle Monete di Restituzione e le Monete dei Nomi d'Egitto. By G. Dattari. From the Author.
- Mr. S. B. Boulton exhibited a gold quarter stater of the British chief Cunobelinus, struck at Camulodunum, and having on the obverse an ear of corn and the legend CAM. CVN., and

on the reverse a horse and the legend CVN. (Evans, Pl. IX., 11). The occurrence of this chief's name on both faces is most unusual on his coins.

Mr. H. W. Taffs showed two pennies of Alfred, and a groat and two half-groats of Edward III. found at Southend.

Mr. W. Webster exhibited a quarter-noble of Edward III., with the letter g in the centre of the cross on the reverse, which he attributed to the fourth coinage of that monarch.

Mr. L. Forrer showed some medals and plaques published by the Société des Amis de la Médaille Française, and executed by the artists Gardet, De Vernon, Legastelois, Niclausse, and Daniel Dupuis.

The President read a paper on some rare or unpublished Roman coins, among which are two denarii of Galba struck in Spain; some aurei of Julia Domna and Caracalla, with their portraits; of Diadumenian as Cæsar, showing two varieties of portrait; of Elagabalus, with a representation of the sacred stone "Elagabal" in a chariot; of Balbinus, with reverse type of Victory, the only gold coin known of that emperor; and two others of Carausius with figures of Pax, varying in treatment; also a very rare denarius of that emperor with the head of Sol on the reverse. Some of the gold coins came from the recent finds in Egypt at Minieh and Alexandria. This paper is printed in Vol. ii., p. 345.

NOVEMBER 20, 1902.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

W. C. Boyd, Esq., was unanimously elected Hon. Treasurer of the Society in succession to the late Alfred E. Copp, Esq.

A letter was read from A. E. G. Copp, Esq., conveying the thanks of his mother and the other members of his family for the vote of condolence passed at the previous meeting on

the death of his father, A. E. Copp, Esq., Hon. Treasurer of the Society.

Henry Fentiman, Esq., Oswald Fitch, Esq., Francis John Haverfield, Esq., F.S.A., E. Alfred Jones, Esq., and Henry C. Ramsden, Esq., were elected Members of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, Vol. xxxii. Pt. 3.

2. Ancient Tokens of Colchester. By E. N. Mason. From the Author.

3. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 231 and 232.

4. False Shekels. By G. F. Hill. From the Author.

5. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 2^{me} trim., 1902.

6. Revue Numismatique. 3^{me} trim., 1902.

7. American Journal of Numismatics. Vol. xxxvii. No. 1. 1902.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn exhibited a fine specimen of the Blondeau pattern half-crown with inscribed edge and dated 1651.

Sir Augustus Prevost exhibited a specimen of the newly-issued two and half gulden of Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, the dies for which were executed in 1898.

Mr. F. A. Walters showed a sestertius of Galba with the reverse legend "Senatus Pietati Augusti," and with a senator crowning the emperor.

Mr. C. E. Mackerell exhibited two similar coins of Vitellius.

Mr. J. Pinches showed specimens of the University College of South Wales medal for anatomy, of the Royal Society's memorial medal of David William Hughes, and a new prize medal for the Royal Agricultural Society.

Mr. H. W. Taffs showed a pattern penny of Victoria dated 1865.

Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton read a paper on the rare penny of Regnald I., King of Northumbria, having the hammer of Thor on the obverse, and a strung bow with arrow on the reverse.

Mr. W. Wroth communicated an account of the Greek coins recently acquired by the British Museum, amongst which were copper pieces of Aphytis; Potidaea; Pausanias, King of Macedon, B.C. 390-389; Aegium, with reverse the boy Zeus standing on a pedestal; and Naukratis; also silver pieces of Larissa with the nymph seated on a hydria and holding one of her sandals; of the Federation of the Achaean cities, being a didrachm of the first Achaean Federation, *circa* B.C. 370; and of Neandria, Cyme, and Mytilene. The paper is printed in Vol. ii., p. 313.

DECEMBER 18, 1902.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The President announced that the Council had had under consideration a proposal to change the hour of the Ordinary Meetings from 7 P.M. to 6.30 P.M., and suggested that the question should come up for discussion at the next Ordinary Meeting of the Society to be held on the 15th January next. The meeting approved the suggestion of the Council and ordered that, in accordance with the Statutes, due notice of the proposed change should be sent to each Member of the Society.

J. G. Covernton, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Journal of Hellenic Studies. Vol. xxii. Pt. 2.
 2. Revue Suisse de Numismatique. Tome xi. 1^{ère} livr.
 3. Appunti di Numismatica Alessandrina. By G. Dattari.
- From the Author.

4. La Gazette Numismatique. Nov. 1902.

5. Transactions of the Japan Society. Vol. v.

The President exhibited two half-nobles and a quarter-noble of the annulet coinage of Henry VI. These coins afforded strong evidence that the trefoil-annulet coinage followed the annulet one and should not be placed last in the series as proposed by Mr. Kenyon in his *Gold Coins of England*.

Sir Augustus Prevost exhibited a prize medal presented by himself, and to be awarded to the company of the 25th Middlesex Volunteers, composed of porters and messengers in the employment of the Bank of England. The medal has portraits of the King and Queen on the obverse and a seated figure of Britannia on the reverse.

Mr. C. A. Mackerell showed a sestertius of Commodus with the reverse type the Emperor spearing a lion. It resembles in fabric the medallions of that period.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a denier of Boemund I., struck at Antioch.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed impressions in shellac of the Waterloo medal by Pistrucci.

Mr. Grueber read a paper on the recent find of silver coins at Colchester. The find numbered about 10,926 pieces which were mostly English pennies of the short-cross coinage (1180-1248). Besides these there was a considerable number of contemporary Irish and Scottish pennies and a few foreign *deniers esterlins*. The writer gave an analysis of the hoard, which he said confirmed in a most satisfactory manner the classification of the short-cross money proposed by the President as far back as 1865. Mr. Grueber was of opinion that the hoard formed part of the exchange, which took place on the issue of the long-cross money in 1248, and that it had been stolen, or concealed, and not unearthed till a few months ago. This paper is printed in Vol. iii., p. 111.

JANUARY 15, 1903.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following alterations in the Rules relating to the hours of Meetings of the Society were proposed and carried unanimously.

Rule 28.—For “Business shall commence at seven o’clock in the evening precisely” read “Business shall commence at half-past six o’clock in the evening precisely.”

Rule 31.—For “A General Meeting shall be held annually on the third Thursday in June at 7 P.M.” read “A General Meeting shall be held annually on the third Thursday in June at 6.30 P.M.”

Rule 33.—For “The Ballot shall commence at 7 P.M. and close at 8 P.M.” read “The Ballot shall commence at 6.30 P.M. and close at 7 P.M.”

Henry Elliott Fox, Esq., Harry Price, Esq., and Max Rosenheim, Esq., F.S.A., were elected Members of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Numismatic Circular, 1902. From Messrs. Spink and Sons.

2. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 1^{ère} livr., 1903.

3. Kong. Vitterhets Historie och Antiquitets Academiens Månadsblad. 1897. From the Society.

4. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Vol. vi., No. 4, and Vol. xxiv., Pt. 1.

5. J. Laugier : un Numismate Provençal. By Baron Guilibert. From the Author.

6. Bonner Jahrbücher. Heft 108-9.

7. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 233.

8. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. vi., No. 4, and Supplement. From the Archaeological Institute of America.

9. *Trois Monnaies Luxembourgeoises*. By the Vic^{te} B. de Jonghe. From the Author.

10. *Répertoire Général de Médallistique*. By Paul Ch. Stroehlin. From the Author.

The President exhibited a medallion in bronze of the emperor, Gordian III., having on the reverse the emperor on horseback, preceded by Victory and accompanied by soldiers.

Mr. G. R. Marten sent for exhibition through the President a forgery of a half-crown of Victoria made in Sicily, and another of a shilling of the same reign made in Germany.

Mr. W. C. Boyd exhibited a denarius of Julia Maesa, grandmother of Elagabalus, with the unpublished type of reverse "*Fides Militum*" seated.

Mr. R. A. Hoblyn showed a series of one-third farthings struck for currency in Malta, including one of Edward VII.

Mr. Boyd gave an account of a find of Roman coins made at Salbris, near Romorantin in the Department of the Loire. The find consisted of from six to seven hundred base denarii extending from the reign of Valerian to that of Aurelian, A.D. 253-275, and included many pieces of Gallienus, Postumus, Victorinus and Tetricus I. and II.

Mr. Grueber read a paper on a small hoard of coins of the time of Alfred discovered recently at Stamford. Some of the pennies of Alfred were of the Lincoln and London mints, one of the latter bearing the moneyer's name on the obverse instead of the king's. Amongst the halfpennies of Alfred were two of an unpublished type, bearing on the reverse a monogram formed of the Greek letters, A and ω. There was also a half denier of Charles the Bald struck at St. Denis. The find was an interesting one, as several of the coins, which purported to be of Alfred, were Danish copies of his coins, which may to a certain degree be accounted for, as Stamford was one of the five burghs which were specially set apart by Alfred or his successor for the occupation of the Danish population.

FEBRUARY 19, 1903.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., Vice-President in the Chair.

H. Alexander Parsons, Esq., was elected a Member of the Society.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. Bulletin international de Numismatique. Vol. i., No. 4.
2. American Journal of Numismatics. Oct., 1902.
3. Bulletin de Numismatique. Oct.—Dec., 1902.
4. Bullettino di Numismatica e del Circolo Numismatico Milanese. No. 1, 1903.
5. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. No. 234.
6. Annual Report of the Board of Reports of the Smithsonian Institute. 1901.
7. Rivista Italiana di Numismatica. Fasc. 4, 1902.
8. Revue Numismatique. 4^{me} trim., 1902.
9. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Pt. iv., 1902.
10. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 3^{me} trim., 1902.
11. Zeitschrift für Numismatik. Band xxiii. Heft 3 and 4.
12. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. Nos. 9–12, 1902.
13. Royal Irish Academy: Proceedings. Vol. xxiv., Pt. 2.
14. Coronation medal in bronze for Hong-Kong. From Messrs. J. Edwards and Co.

Mr. Horace W. Monckton exhibited two London pennies of Henry VI. of the rosette-mascle and pine-cone-mascle coinages.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed a Canterbury penny of the first issue of Edward III. with English N's in the legend and the portrait of the king resembling that of Edward II.

Mr. A. H. Baldwin exhibited a copper coin of Carausius struck at Camulodunum, and having on the reverse a centaur and the legend "Leg. III. Flavia"

Mr F. A. Walters read a paper on the gold coinage of Henry VI. After calling attention to the large amount of gold coined (according to the Mint records) during the first six years of this reign as compared with the small amount during the later years, Mr. Walters gave reasons for attributing the bulk of Henry VI.'s gold coins to the annulet and not to the trefoil coinage, as has been done hitherto by English numismatists. The writer suggested that the flag in the stern of the ship on some nobles and half-nobles was the distinguishing mark of the Calais mint both in this and previous reigns; and it was also suggested that the fleur-de-lis on the ship's stern on other pieces denoted the York mint. He concluded with a classification of the coins of the several gold issues, which he showed corresponded in a remarkable manner with those of the silver money.

MARCH 19, 1903.

SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH, K.C.I.E., Vice-President in the Chair.

Oberst-Lieut. M. Bahrfieldt of Halle, Saxony, was elected an Hon. Member of the Society, and William H. Regan, Esq., an ordinary Member.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Catalogue of Greek coins in the British Museum: Coins of Parthia. By Warwick Wroth. From the Trustees of the British Museum.

2. Appunti di Numismatica Alessandrina. Pt. xvi. By G. Dattari. From the Author.

3. Bullettino di Numismatica. No. 2. Feb., 1903.

4. Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1900.
5. Annuaire de l'Académie royale de Belgique, 1903.
6. Archaeologia Aeliana. Vol. xxiv. Pt. III.
7. Berliner Münzblätter. Jan., 1903.
8. La Gazette Numismatique. Jan., 1903.
9. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien, No. 235.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a halfpenny of Edward III. (?) struck in London. The portrait of the king differed much from that usually found on Edward's coins, being long and narrow.

Mr. W. Talbot Ready showed an unpublished drachm of the fourth century B.C., struck at Atarneus, with head of Apollo on the obverse and a serpent on the reverse.

Mr. Harry Price exhibited specimens of copper boat-shaped money from Laos, and an eighteenth-century manuscript catalogue of a collection of Greek and Roman coins.

Dr. O. Codrington showed a gold coin of the Malay Peninsula, probably struck at Acheen in the fourteenth century, and a tutenag copy of a mohur of Shah Jehan.

Mr. Grueber read the first portion of a paper on Roman copper money of the first century B.C., which included not only that struck at Rome, but also local issues of the East, Spain, and Gaul. The writer first dealt with the coinage of the East which was struck in the names of Mark Antony, P. Canidius Crassus, the legate of Antony, and Augustus. From analyses of the coins these issues appeared to be of the semuncial standard.

APRIL 23, 1903.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table :—

1. American Journal of Archaeology. Vol. vii. No. 1.

- 2 *Revue Numismatique*. 1^{er} trim., 1903.
3. *Bulletin de Numismatique*. Jan.-Feb., 1903.
4. *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*. Fasc. 1, 1903.
5. *Académie Royale de Belgique*. *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres* Nos. 1-2, 1903, et de la *Classe des Sciences*. No. 1, 1903.
6. *Bullettino di Numismatica*. Nos. 3-4.
7. *Ancient Greek Coins*. Vol ii. Syracuse. By Frank Sherman Benson. From the Author.
8. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*. Vol. xix. No 1.
9. *Revue Belge de Numismatique*. 2^{me} livr., 1903.
- 10 *Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*. No. 236.

11. *American Journal of Numismatics*. Jan-Mar., 1903.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence exhibited a penny of Edward I. (?) struck at Newcastle, and bearing a similar portrait of the king to that on the London halfpenny shown by him at the preceding meeting of the Society

Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton showed an Anglo-Saxon sceat found at Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, having on the obverse a small head surrounded by ten circles, and on the reverse a fantastic bird.

Mr. W. C. Boyd exhibited a copper coin of Constantine II. struck at Treves, with the diademed bust to left on the obverse, and the legend CONSTANTINVS AVG. within a wreath on the reverse. It is a combination, somewhat varied, of Cohen, *Monn. Imp. Rom.*, Nos. 69 and 68.

Mr. F. A. Walters exhibited a half-groat of the heavy coinage of Henry IV. and two half-groats of the light coinage.

Mr. Grueber read the second and concluding portion of his paper on "Roman Copper Coinage of the First Century B.C.," dealing with the issues in Spain, in Gaul, and of the mint at Rome. With regard to the last series, the writer, following

the classification of the late Count de Salis, showed, that in B.C. 44 and 43, an attempt was made at Rome to revive the issue of a copper currency which had been in abeyance since B.C. 80, but that it was not successful. When the re-appearance of moneyers' names on the coinage occurred, *circa* B.C. 16, the copper currency was again revived, and from that time was continuous. The analyses of the metals from which these last coins were struck showed that the sestertius and dupondius were of *orichalcum*—*i.e.*, brass, composed of 75 per cent. copper and 25 per cent. zinc—and that the as and quadrans were practically of pure copper. The current value of the *orichalcum* coins was nearly double that of those of pure copper.

MAY 21, 1903.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., President, in the Chair.

The following Presents were announced and laid upon the table:—

1. Bulletin International de Numismatique. Vol. ii., No. 1.
2. Académie royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres. Nos. 3 and 4, 1903.
3. Notes on Indian coins and seals. By E. J. Rapson. From the Royal Asiatic Society.
4. A Malay coin. By Col. Gerini. From the Royal Asiatic Society.
5. Numismatische Zeitschrift. 1902.
6. Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Nos. 237-238.

7. Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland. Vol. xxxiii. Pt. 1.

8. Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest. 4^{me} trim., 1902.

The President exhibited a bronze sestertius of Augustus struck by the *Commune Asiae* in B.C. 27, having on the obverse the head of Augustus and on the reverse the letters C. A. within a wreath; and also a dupondius of the same emperor struck at Lyons with a view of the Altar on the reverse. The head of Augustus on the obverse is more after the style of that on medallions. It is figured in *Num. Zeitschr.*, Vol. xxxv., Pl. v. 9.

Mr. L. A. Lawrence showed an Anglo-Saxon sceat recently found in Goldsmith Street, Drury Lane, during some excavations. On the obverse is a floriated whorl and on the reverse a female centaur.

Mr. F. Willson Yeates exhibited some copper tickets inscribed on the obverses "Folly," and on the reverses with the names of "G. Gait" or "Hulbert," which he thought were used as checks at the Folly Inn near Bathwick.

Mr. W. Webster exhibited a gold medallion of Constantius II. as Caesar struck at Treves; having a laureate bust on the obverse, and on the reverse Constantius crowned by Victory, raising a female figure wearing a turreted crown and supported by a soldier. Around, the legend "PIETAS AVGVSTI NOSTRI." This medallion was evidently struck by Constantius during his governorship of Gaul, A.D. 332.

Mr. P. Carlyon-Britton read a paper on "Edward the Confessor and his Coins," in which he proposed some modifications in the order of the types based on what are termed "mules," i.e., pieces having the obverse type of one issue and the reverse type of another. In attempting to fix the dates of the different issues he was of opinion that when a change of type took place the reverse dies were issued on the 29th Sept., i.e., Michaelmas; but that the obverse dies did not

appear till the Christmas following. In a discussion which followed, Mr. Grueber criticised Mr. Carlyon-Britton's arrangement of the earlier types, and said that the attempt to fix the actual dates of the issues of the new dies was purely speculative.

JUNE 18, 1903.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., Sc.D., F.R.S.,
V.P.S.A., F.G.S., President, in the Chair.

The Minutes of the last Annual General Meeting were read and confirmed.

Mr. Horace W. Monckton and Mr. Richard A. Hoblyn were appointed scrutineers of the ballot for the election of the Council and the Officers for the ensuing year.

The Report of the Council was then read to the Society.

GENTLEMEN,—The Council again have the honour to lay before you their Annual Report as to the state of the Numismatic Society.

With much regret they have to announce the death of the following six Ordinary Members :—

G. D. Brown, Esq.

Alfred E. Copp, Esq., *Hon. Treas.*

H. Syer Cuming, Esq., F.S.A. Scot.

John Gloag Murdoch, Esq.

H. P. Smith, Esq.

J. M. Stobart, Esq.

And of the following Hon. Member :—

S. E. Baron Wladimir von Tiesenhausen.

The Council also regret to announce the resignation of the following nine Ordinary Members :—

W. J. Andrew, Esq., F S A.
 F Brayne Baker, Esq.
 H. Cassels Kay, Esq.
 H. W. Lawrence, Esq.
 A. B. Richardson, Esq.
 E. J. Sidebotham, Esq., M.B.
 C. F. Spink, Esq.
 E. Fairfax Studd, Esq.
 Lieut.-Col. R N. Sturt.

On the other hand the Council have much pleasure recording the election of the following thirteen Ordinary Members :—

A. H. Baldwin, Esq.
 J. G Covernton, Esq., M.A.
 Edward Charles Davey, Esq.
 H. Elliott Fox, Esq.
 Harry Fentiman, Esq.
 Oswald Fitch, Esq.
 F. G. Haverfield, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.
 E Alfred Jones, Esq
 H. Alexander Parsons, Esq.
 Harry Price, Esq.
 Henry A. Ramsden, Esq.
 William Henry Regan, Esq
 Max Rosenheim, Esq , F.S.A.

And of the election of the following Hon. Member :—

Oberst-Lieutenant M. Bahrfeldt.

It will be seen from the above statement that an unusual number of deaths and resignations has been nearly met by an exceptional number of elections ; the effect of which is to cause

but slight change in the numerical state of the Society, which as compared with last year is as follows :—

	Ordinary.	Honorary.	Total.
June, 1902	270	23	293
Since elected	13	1	14
	283	24	307
Deceased	6	1	7
Resigned	9	—	9
June, 1903	268	23	291

The Council have to announce that they have awarded the medal of the Society to M. Léon Gustave Schlumberger, Membre de l'Institut de France, in recognition of his services to Numismatics, more especially in connexion with the coinages of the Latin East.

The Council have also to announce that they have had before them a proposal duly made by nine Members, and supported by a large number of Members of the Society, that Rule 45 should be amended by the addition of the words "Every such paper, or, if it be too long, a synopsis of its contents, shall be read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society before insertion in the Chronicle."

After careful consideration the Council, being of opinion that, if the proposed alteration of the Rules were made, the regular publication of the Chronicle would be delayed and the work of the Editors immensely increased, ordered that the following circular expressing their view be sent to Members of the Society before the General Meeting.

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON.

Proposed Alteration of Rules.

The Council of the Numismatic Society have had before them a proposal, strongly supported, that Rule 45 be altered by the addition at the end thereof of the words, "Every such

paper, or, if it be too long, a synopsis of its contents, shall be read at an Ordinary Meeting of the Society before insertion in the Chronicle."

The Council, while regretting that an article in the Numismatic Chronicle has met with a certain amount of disapproval, venture to think that the supporters of this proposal can hardly be aware of the difficulties that attend the regular publication of the Chronicle, or of the amount of work entailed upon the Editors. They would point out that the spirit of the proposed alteration in the Rule is at present so far as practicable complied with both by the Officers of the Society and by the Editors of the Numismatic Chronicle ; but the Council cannot recommend the adoption of the proposed alteration, inasmuch as if it were literally carried out it would be almost impossible for the Editors to fulfil the duties delegated to them by the Council, especially during the four months of the year in which there are no Ordinary Meetings of the Society.

Signed on behalf of the Council,

JOHN EVANS,

PRESIDENT.

22 Albemarle Street,

28th May, 1903.

The Hon. Treasurer's Report, which follows, was then submitted to the Meeting and adopted.

Statement of Receipts and Disbursements of the
Dr. THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF LONDON *IN*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
To Messrs. Virtue & Co for printing <i>Chronicles</i>	5	3				
Part II., 1902	57	6	3			
,, III., ,,	67	5	9			
,, IV., ,,	41	3	8			
	<hr/>			166	0	11
,, The Autotype Company for Plates				69	14	6
,, The Royal Asiatic Society, one year's rent due June 24, 1903 .				30	0	0
,, Mrs. Harper, for attendance, Tea, Coffee, &c.				10	19	8
,, Messrs. H. Bowyer & Co., for Bookbinding				2	1	5
,, Messrs. Whittingham & Co., for Stationery				2	1	6
,, Messrs. Thomas Mills, for Stationery				1	5	6
,, Messrs. Hachette, for "Dictionn. des Antiq."				3	9	
,, Mr B. Quaritch, for Catalogue				1	0	0
,, Mr. F. Anderson, for Drawing Coins		12	0			
,, ,,		1	5			
,, ,,		8	0			
,, ,,		1	0			
,, ,,		1	12			
	<hr/>			4	17	0
,, Mr. Pinches, for Engraving				4	0	
,, Messrs. Williams & Norgate, for Reinach, "L'Hist. par les Monnaies"				8	6	
,, Fire Insurance				15	0	
,, Mr. I. W. Miles, for Legal Expenses				2	2	0
,, Secretaries' Account				5	0	0
,, Treasurer, for Postages, Receipts, &c, and Cheque Book . .				1	12	3
,, Collector (Mr. C. G. Coleman), for Commission and Postages .				1	4	5
By Balance in hand				196	7	0
				<hr/>		
				£495	17	5
				<hr/>		

Examined and found correct,

15th June, 1903.

THOS. BLISS,
 ARTHUR H. LYELL, } *Auditors.*

Numismatic Society, from June, 1902, to June, 1903.

ACCOUNT WITH WILLIAM C. BOYD, HON. TREASURER. *Cr.*

	£	s	d
By Balance from last Statement	154	19	1
„ Entrance Fees	13	13	0
„ Subscriptions	236	11	3
„ Amount received for <i>Chronicles</i> —			
M ^r . B. Quantch	£ 3	15	0
„	40	10	0
„	14	5	0
			<hr/> 58 10 0
„ Mr. C. B. Stainer	14		0
„ M ^r . E. Rapson	15		0
„ Messrs. H. Virtue & Co, Limited, discount returned . . .	5		1
„ Inland Revenue, Returned Income Tax	4	3	5
„ Allowance on old Cheques	1		0
„ August Dividend on £700 London and North-Western Railway			
4% Consolidated Preference Stock (less Tax 16s 11d.) . .	13	3	1
„ February ditto (less Tax 17s. 6d)	13	2	6

£495 17 5

WILLIAM C. BOYD,
HONORARY TREASURER.
15th June, 1903.

The Report of the Council was received and, after considerable discussion, adopted. By a Resolution of the Meeting the Ballot for the Council and Officers remained open till 7.30 p.m. After the Report of the Council had been adopted, and after some further discussion as to the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, the President presented the Society's Medal to Mr. B. V. Head to forward to M. Schlumberger, who was unable to attend the meeting, and addressed him as follows :—

Mr. Head,—I have much pleasure in presenting to you the Medal of this Society for transmission to Mons. Léon Gustave Schlumberger, Membre de l'Institut de France. It has been awarded to him by the Council in recognition of his long and important services to numismatic science, more especially in connection with the coinages of the Latin East.

For a period of nearly thirty years he has devoted special attention to this department of our studies, but his description of the coins, jetons and medals of Béarn, which forms a second volume of the Monetary History of that important ancient province of France, and his various articles on Byzantine Coins republished in his *Mélanges d'Archéologie Byzantine*, show that his interests are not confined to a single branch of numismatics. His *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle* and his *Nicéphore Phocas* bear evidence to the same effect. I must also mention his *Sigillographie de l'Empire Byzantin*, which is not unconnected with the coinage. But, after all, it is in respect of his *Numismatique de l'Orient Latin*, published in 1878, with a supplement in 1882, that this award has been mainly made. This exhaustive work treats of the Principalities of Syria and Palestine, the Kingdom of Cyprus and the Grand Masters of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem at Rhodes, beginning with the eleventh and coming down to the fifteenth century; and enables us to trace, both by historic and numismatic evidence, the rise and

progress of the Crusades and their far-reaching results. The work is indeed one that affords an admirable example of the due combination of historical and numismatic research, and in conveying to M. Schlumberger this medal we may express not only our gratitude to him for his past achievements, but our hope that there may be other fields before him in which his labours in the future may produce equally valuable and satisfactory results.

Mr. Head, in returning thanks for the medal on behalf of M Schlumberger, who was unable to be present, said that this was the seventh occasion on which he had been privileged to act as the deputy-recipient of the Society's medal on behalf of a Numismatist of European reputation. He had read before the Annual Meetings letters of warm acknowledgment for the award of the medal from the Oriental numismatist, Edward Thomas, in 1885, from Imhoof-Blumer, in 1888, from J. P. Six of Amsterdam, in 1890, from his kind old friend and adviser, M. W. H. Waddington, in 1893, from Mommsen, the veteran historian of ancient Rome, in 1895, and from his learned colleague, Von Sallet of Berlin, in 1897. And now, once again, he had the honour of communicating to the Society the following letter addressed to him by another distinguished foreign numismatist, M. Gustave Schlumberger, whose published works have already gained for him the highest honour to which an Archæologist can look forward, that of Membership of the French Academy of Inscriptions. M. Schlumberger's letter, as read by Mr. Head, is as follows :—

Paris, 37 Avenue d'Antin,
24 Mai, 1903.

“ Monsieur,

Je ne puis vous exprimer combien la nouvelle de l'honneur insigne que m'a conféré, sur votre proposition, la Société Numismatique de Londres, me touche, me flatte et m'honore. Je vous prie d'être assez bon pour être l'interprète de ma gratitude

auprès de votre illustre compagnie, car, à mon extrême regret, il m'est matériellement impossible de me rendre à Londres. Aucune récompense ne pouvait m'être plus précieuse. Veuillez en assurer vos savants confrères. Il me reste à vous dire, Monsieur et cher confrère, ma gratitude profonde pour votre si aimable et flatteuse initiative qui me touche profondément. Je suis fier de penser que mes modestes travaux m'ont valu une telle distinction. Veuillez Monsieur et cher confrère, croire à l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués et très reconnaissants.

GUSTAVE SCHLUMBERGER,
de l'Institut de France."

The President then delivered the following address :—

The year that has just closed has been more eventful than usual in the annals of the Society. We have unfortunately lost our Honorary Treasurer by death ; we have unexpectedly, in consequence of the winding-up of the old-established business of Virtue & Co., Lim^d., been compelled to place our printing in new hands, those of Messrs. W. Clowes & Sons, Lim^d. ; and there has been some excitement in the Society with regard to a proposed change in a Rule which the Council, on due consideration, and having regard to the necessities of the Editors of the *Numismatic Chronicle*, have not been able to accept. Their reasons for this action have been explained in a short statement that has been circulated among the Members.

The number of those whom the busy hand of death has removed from among us has, I am glad to say, been only six, but the resignations from various causes have been far more numerous than usual, amounting to nine in all, a diminution in our numbers which all must regard with regret.

On the other hand, we may congratulate ourselves on the accession of fifteen Members, so that our total number of

Ordinary Members, 268, remains at nearly the same level as that of last year, 270.

Our finances, as you will have heard from the Report of our excellent present Honorary Treasurer, Mr W. C. Boyd, are in a satisfactory condition.

Our medal has this year been bestowed on a highly distinguished foreign numismatist, M. Léon Gustave Schlumberger of Paris.

We have added the name of Oberst-Lieutenant M. Bahr-feldt of Halle to our List of Honorary Members, from which, however, the distinguished name of Baron Wladimir von Tiesenhausen has to be removed on account of his lamented decease.

It is as nearly as may be two years since, at our Anniversary Meeting in 1901, I placed our medal in the hands of Dr. Codrington for transmission to Baron von Tiesenhausen. It had been awarded to him by the Council in recognition of his long and valuable services to Oriental Numismatics, especially in connection with the coinages of the Khalifs. On that occasion I pointed out that his numismatic labours had commenced so long ago as 1855, and I cited some of his principal works, such as his *Monnaies des Khalifes Orientaux* and his *Recueil de Matériaux relatifs à l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*. I may now just mention his "account of two hoards of Cufic coins found in Russia,"¹ his notes on the collections of Oriental Coins belonging to Count Stroganoff, to General Komaroff, and to M. N. P. Linovitch, and a paper on an unknown Dirhem which appeared in 1900. He was long regarded as a chief among the students of Mohammedan numismatics, and many will deeply regret his loss.

Mr. Alfred E. Copp joined our Society in the year 1877, and in 1879 succeeded Mr. J. F. Neck in the post of Honorary Treasurer—a post which he held from that time

¹ *Num. Zeitschr.* 1871.

until the day of his death, October 7, 1902. On his accession to office the invested funds of the Society amounted to £409 consols, while in June 1902 our capital consisted of £700—London and North Western Railway 4% Preference Stock of the present value of about £900, or more than double what it was twenty-three years previously. A better testimony to the assiduous care of our finances by our Honorary Treasurer can hardly be offered. Mr. Copp, however, did not confine his attention to the current coins of the realm, but took a warm interest in those of an earlier date, of which he not infrequently exhibited specimens at our meetings. In my last address, unaware that we were so soon to lose his valuable services, I made mention of some beautiful *plaques* by Simon Passe, that he had recently brought under our notice. While mourning the loss of Mr. Copp, I feel that I cannot do otherwise than take this opportunity of offering our warmest thanks to Mr. Boyd for so readily undertaking the somewhat onerous duties of the Honorary Treasurership of the Society, and of expressing a hope that he may long be spared to look after our interests in every department.

Mr. Syer Cuming joined the Society in 1875, but though a diligent antiquary he never communicated anything to our publications. It is, however, hardly an exaggeration to say that he favoured the British Archaeological Association with innumerable papers and notes on an infinite variety of subjects, among which coins and medals occasionally appear. Medalets relating to Mary Stuart, to the Old and Young Pretenders, to the Virgin Mary and St. Benedict, to Porto Bello and Culloden, the Lee penny and *memento mori*, were all in turn the subjects of his researches. When his extensive collections—which, with a sum for their maintenance, have been bequeathed to the Borough of Lambeth—come to be arranged, it will I think be found that they consist of more multifarious objects than exist in any other museum, and that there is hardly a phase of domestic life or of national industry

but will receive some illustration from the collections formed by Mr. Syer Cuming with such unceasing zeal through a long life.

In Mr. John G. Murdoch, who died on July 22, 1902, we have lost an ardent and intelligent collector, whose refined taste and critical judgment are well exhibited in the magnificent collection of coins and medals, which are now, alas ! in process of dispersion under the hammer.

I must now, in accordance with my usual custom, pass in review the Papers that have either been read before the Society or communicated to the pages of the *Numismatic Chronicle*. As in former years they cover a wide field, both chronologically and geographically.

In Greek numismatics Mr. Wroth has been so good as to give us another of his valuable papers relating to recent acquisitions by the British Museum. In the year 1901 these were no less than 1069 in number, including 38 of gold and 411 of silver. Among the coins may be mentioned as specially worthy of notice an early obol of Larissa, showing the nymph seated on a hydria, and replacing one of her sandals which has become loose during her efforts to while away the time at the fountain by a game of ball. It is a wonderful 4th century B.C. picture in a circle of less than half-an-inch in diameter. A tetradrachm of Euboea is a fine specimen of late 5th century work. A bronze coin of Eretria of the time of Commodus, with a triple bust on the reverse, is of great rarity and interest, whether the faces be male or female. A coin of Aegium, of the time of Antoninus Pius, shows the figure of the boy Zeus on the reverse, doubtless taken from the bronze statue by Ageladas that was seen and described by Pausanias.

A remarkable Aeginetic didrachm of the Federation of Achaean Cities, probably dating from about the middle of the 4th century B.C., demands attention on account of the wonderful female head in profile on the obverse. It was

also probably struck in Aegium. Coins of the Cilbiani Nicaei of Lydia with a bull's head, and of Side in Pamphylia with Asklepios, and of Cremna, with the word DONATIO on the reverse, the equivalent of ΔΩΠΕΑ, are also worthy of notice. The Trustees of the British Museum are much to be congratulated on the value and interest of these accessions to the Greek Series.

To Mr. George Macdonald, whose labours in connection with the Hunter Collection at Glasgow are beyond all praise, we are indebted for a Paper on the Coinage of Tigranes I. He regards the duration of his coinage as having extended over fourteen years, which he divides into three periods, the coins of the second and third being dated. The earliest bears the title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ simply ; the second that of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, while those of the third revert to the title on the first. Coins in silver and copper are known of all three classes, the reverse type on the silver pieces being in all cases the Tyche of Antioch.

In Roman numismatics we have to thank Mr. Grueber for an exhaustive account of the Roman copper money of the first century B.C., in which he traces the issue of the coins, not only at Rome, but in Spain, Gaul, and the East. At Rome the coinage, which had been in abeyance since 80 B.C., was partially revived about 44 B.C., but did not become continuous again until about 14 B.C. At that time the *as* and *quadrans* were of copper and the *sestertius* and *dupondius* of *orichalcum*, a metal which analysis shows consisted of about three parts copper to one of zinc. This compound was regarded as being of twice the intrinsic value of copper. The letters C. A. on the reverse of the fine copper coins of Augustus struck in the East, are regarded by the author as significant of Commune Asiae, or some other Latin form of ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΑΣΙΑΣ.

M. Jules Maurice has favoured us with another of his valuable monographs on the issues of certain Roman mints

during the Constantine Period. On this occasion it is the Mint of Alexandria to which he directs our attention. He classes the coins under no less than eleven issues, beginning with A.D. 305 and ending with the small pieces struck after the death of Constantine the Great in A.D. 337. Like former Papers by the same author, this essay will be found of great assistance to those who have to undertake the difficult task of arranging the coins struck by the numerous Emperors and Caesars of the close of the third and the first half of the fourth century of our Era.

In a Paper on Some Rare or Unpublished Roman Coins, I have called attention to a considerable number of interesting pieces which with one exception are in my own cabinet. One of the small silver coins of the time of Galba is remarkable as having been found in this country, and as presenting a new type of the "*Hispaniarum et Galliarum Concordia*." A series of gold coins, for the most part from Egyptian hoards, give some new varieties of the days of Septimius Severus and his successors, while the *aureus* of Balbinus adds a new name to the Roman gold series, and some hitherto unknown coins of Carausius, both of gold and silver, are of especial interest to British numismatists. We have had brought before us several notices of finds of Roman coins. Mr. Boyd has described a hoard of six or seven hundred coins from the time of Valerian to that of Aurelian, found near Romorantin in the Department of the Loire. Mr. Haverfield has given us lists of two hoards of much the same period, from Brighton and Eastbourne, and of another of somewhat later date coming down to the Constantine Period, unearthed at Easton near Norwich. An earlier hoard of denarii from Tiberius to Faustina II., found near Caistor by Norwich, has also been described by Mr. Haverfield.

Mr. Hill has given us a list of a small hoard from the time of Agrippa to that of Vespasian found during excavations in Southwark, and Mr. Percy H. Webb has described a number

of coins found on the rebuilding of Carpenters' Hall in 1872, among which are Roman and Byzantine coins of very various dates.

In the domain of Anglo-Saxon numismatics the indefatigable Mr. Grueber has placed on record particulars of an extremely interesting small hoard of coins of the time of Alfred recently discovered near Stamford. One of them, struck at Lincoln, has the name of the moneyer, Herebald, upon the obverse, instead of that of the king. Two half-pence are of an unpublished type, and bear on the reverse a monogram formed of the letters A and ω , somewhat in the manner of that upon certain Merovingian *trientes*. Several of the coins are Danish copies of those of Alfred, as was the case in the great Cuerdale hoard.

Some curious coins of Eadgar, with remarkable florid reverses, have also been described by Mr. Grueber, who in the same paper has noticed a rare noble of Henry VI. belonging to his first or annulet coinage.

Mr. Carlyon-Britton has called attention to a rare penny of Regnald I. of Northumbria with the hammer of Thor on the obverse and a bow and arrow on the reverse. In a later Paper he has given an exhaustive account of the coinage of Edward the Confessor and attempted a slightly novel arrangement of the types, relying to a great extent on certain historical data.

I must now direct your attention to what has been done with regard to our post-Conquest numismatics.

The long and important Numismatic History of the Reign of Henry I., by Mr. W. J. Andrew, which occupies the First Volume of the Fourth Series of the *Chronicle*, has been the subject of a considerable amount of criticism. Some notes upon it by Messrs. C. G. Crump and C. Johnson of the Record Office appeared in the *Chronicle*, but it must not be forgotten that for the opinions therein expressed the authors alone and not the editors are responsible. The

authors have corrected some few errors of their own, including one of some importance as to the date of the building of the Cathedral of Exeter, in Part I of the *Chronicle* for the present year

Mr. J H Round, in the *English Historical Review*,² has also commented on Mr. Andrew's History, mainly in connection with the Mint of Colchester. It is not for me here to say whether the critics are right or wrong as to facts, but when we consider the vast area of the field covered by Mr. Andrew, we must feel that it would be strange indeed if he did not occasionally fall into error. As numismatists we must all acknowledge our indebtedness to him for the immense labour that he undertook in collecting particulars of all the known coins of Henry I, and for the skill shown in the difficult task of arranging their types. Very possibly he may have been in error in regarding certain remissions, of which we have evidence in records, as being credited to the wrong fund, but he himself must be credited with first calling marked attention to the fact that these remissions, on the ground of defect of moneyers at certain mints, have a direct bearing on the history of the coinage. If but one moneyer worked at a certain place for a given time instead of four, it is evident that the type issued at that time would at that mint be relatively scarce, and if no moneyers were at work the type would be absent. The reasons for the shortness or total want of moneyers at certain mints in certain years may or may not be absolutely those suggested by Mr Andrew; but though in many cases the evidence is of necessity negative in character, he has contributed to our studies a good working hypothesis which may eventually lead to a more perfect knowledge of the numismatic history of Norman times. For this we should all be grateful.

With regard to the connection of a local coinage, with the absence or presence of the grantee of the mint within his

² Vol. xviii., p. 305.

demesne, I am inclined to think that we have not as yet heard the last word.

Mr. Grueber has laid before us an account of a large hoard of silver coins lately discovered at Colchester. Nearly 11,000 pieces were present, mainly English, of the short-cross type, but also a fair number of Irish and Scottish pennies and a few foreign *deniers*. A careful analysis of the coins has enabled the author to add some new names of moneyers to the lists already published; but on the whole the examination of this large hoard has resulted in confirming the views that I brought forward nearly forty years ago, viz., that the short-cross pennies bearing the name of HENRICUS were struck not only under Henry II., but throughout the reigns of Richard I. and John, and during the first years of Henry III., until the introduction of the long-cross type in the year 1248.

Mr. F. A. Walters has supplemented his exhaustive Paper of last year, on the Silver Coinage of Henry VI., by a Paper on the Gold Coinage of that monarch. He showed that the bulk of Henry's gold coins were struck in the early part of his reign, and he was therefore inclined to assign the annulet rather than the trefoil coinage to his mints. He suggested that the flag of the ship on the nobles and half-nobles is indicative of the coins bearing it having been struck at Calais, and that the fleur-de-lis on the stern of the ship in other cases may indicate their having been struck at York. When the Paper has been printed we shall be better able to examine the cogency of these suggestions, which at first sight have much to commend them. That as to the fleur-de-lis being the symbol of York is to my mind more hazardous than the others, but may after all have a solid foundation.

Coming down to the later times, I find the Rev. G. Searle calling attention to about fifty sixteenth-century Tradesmen's Tokens, not given in Williamson's edition of Boyne. The majority, as might be expected, are of London, but I am

interested in noting two unpublished Hertfordshire Tokens in the List.

Mr. Pritchard has also favoured us with a supplementary note on the Bristol Tokens of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries, mainly relating to varieties of those already published, but also including a new and unpublished Private Token.

An engraved and unique naval reward medal, presented to Mr. John Breton, pilot to H.M.S. "Crescent," has been the subject of an interesting account by Mr. Bardasano and Mr. Grueber.

In Oriental numismatics we have had descriptions of some rare coins of the Khalifs of Baghdad, both Umayyad and Abbasi, struck at various mints, from the pen of Dr. Codrington.

Mr. Longworth Dames has given us an account of some of the Coins of the Moghul Emperors, struck at the numerous mints within their wide-spread dominions.

The coinage of the East India Company has been carefully discussed by Mr. J. M. C. Johnston. The subject is none the less difficult on account of so large a proportion of the Company's coins having in these early days been struck in the name of Moghul Emperors and Native Princes.

I must now call your attention to some of the numismatic publications of the past year, and in doing so must acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. Grueber for assistance in preparing a portion of these short notices.

Another volume of the British Museum Catalogue of Greek Coins, the twenty-third of the series begun in 1873, has recently been published. It relates to the Coins of Parthia, and has been compiled by Mr. Warwick Wroth. It is illustrated by a map and thirty-seven autotype plates. The coins of the Arsacidae, with the exception of those of early date, do not perhaps possess the same attractions, either as works of art or as historical monuments as most of the other Greek

series. There are, however, mysteries as to chronology, identification and classification, which have attractions of their own, and in this country both Professor Percy Gardner and Mr. Warwick Wroth have found a special interest in working on these Parthian coins. A Paper by the latter on the rearrangement of the series, principally that portion of it that is anterior to the time of Phraates IV., appeared in 1900 in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, and the lines then laid down have been followed in the Catalogue. I cannot pretend to pass an opinion on the merits of this book, but on the face of it an immense amount of patient labour has been bestowed upon it, the Indices and Introduction are all that could be desired, and the Plates give admirable reproductions of the coins.

Another important work on Greek numismatics is Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's second and concluding part of his *Kleinasiatische Münzen*, which deals with rare and unpublished coins of Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Cilicia and Galatia, with an Appendix. Such a work needs no commendation on my part, as the great value and interest of all Dr. Imhoof-Blumer's publications are so well known to Greek numismatists, who will find in this volume not only much fresh information but also the identification and elucidation of many coins hitherto classed as "Uncertain." Illustrations are given of all the more important pieces, and full indices are supplied for reference.

Mr. G. F. Hill has added to his already numerous numismatic works a volume on the *Coins of Ancient Sicily*. In his Preface he tells us, "It is a conviction of the high interest to all students of antiquity and lovers of art of many things in the history of Sicilian coinage, which are hidden away in special highly technical publications, that has suggested the compilation of this book." Holm in his *Geschichte Siciliens im Alterthum* has described the Sicilian coins in the form of a Catalogue; and Mr. Arthur Evans, in the fourth volume of

Freeman's *History of Sicily*, has discussed them rather from an economic and political view, though his valuable papers on Syracusan Medallions and Artists' signatures on Sicilian coins in the *Numismatic Chronicle* deal with the coins of Syracuse, both from the chronological and the artistic standpoint. Mr. Hill is inclined to confine himself more especially to the numismatic and artistic interest of the series. In consequence the attention of the reader is not disturbed by long and minute descriptions of the coins, though he fully explains their types and historical import. The introductory chapter, which gives a brief sketch of Sicilian history, is a fitting prelude to the main subject. The book is well illustrated by blocks and collotype plates, the latter being admirably executed.

M. Théodore Reinach has collected, under the title *L'Histoire par les Monnaies*, a number of his contributions to archaeological periodicals within the last fifteen years. As the title implies, the volume is mainly concerned with numismatics as applied to the elucidation of history. Among the many important articles included I may mention that on the relation between gold and silver in antiquity, as well as the brilliant suggestion that the supposed artist "Acragas," mentioned by Pliny, is a myth originating in a decadrachm of Acragas having been let into the bottom of a silver cup. The discovery of a new King of Bithynia and the identification of the Bithynian sculptor of the *Vénus accroupie* as Doedalses, and not, as hitherto supposed, Daedalus, may be mentioned as being of special interest among the twenty-five subjects which are discussed in the volume.

In concluding this short address, I must again thank the Society for the indulgence which for so many years it has extended to me, and express a hope that the Temple of Janus may now be closed, and that the future years of the Numismatic Society may be blessed with peace and prosperity.

A vote of thanks to the President for his Address was moved by Professor Percy Gardner, seconded by Sir Augustus Prevost, and carried unanimously.

The President announced to the meeting the result of the Ballot for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year, which was :—

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